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A CLASS BOOK OF
THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

IN THREE VOLUMES

BY

ARTHUR D. INNES

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'ENGLAND'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT'
'SCHOOL HISTORY OF ENGLAND,' ETC.

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PREFACE

UNTIL after the opening of the Eighteenth Century, the history of the future British Commonwealth was the history of the British Isles, and latterly of those British communities planted in America which were not in fact destined to form part of the British Commonwealth at all. The last years of the seventeenth century, when the Stadtholder of Holland was also King of England and Scotland, carried our islands into the vortex of European international politics; their comparative isolation was ended. In the first years of the eighteenth century, the island kingdoms were incorporated in a single state; in relation to Europe, Great Britain took the place of England. The constitutional struggle of the last century was ended when the Elector of Hanover became King of Great Britain. The maritime and commercial supremacy of Britain had become established facts. For the next two centuries—the subject-matter of this volume—British history is the history not of the British Isles but of the British Empire, an infinitely more complicated affair.

It is more complicated, for three main reasons. First, the Imperial development expands our stage; India and America suddenly become new and prominent centres of interest, to be followed by South Africa and Australasia. Secondly, European politics are increasingly international; there has indeed always been a nexus between British and European history, but now they are involved with each other at every turn; thrice at least, for a long period at a

time, they become inextricably blended. Thirdly, the economic and industrial structure of society is subverted and a new structure arises in its place; a revolution which is the product primarily not of any political movement but of the advance in mechanical science, yet itself reacts tremendously upon political conditions.

This constantly increasing complication makes the whole period much more difficult as a subject of study than the 'Middle Ages' or the age of transition. The whole of it seems to fall naturally into a quadruple division. First, from the 'teens to the 'eighties of the eighteenth century—to the moment, that is, of the arrival of Steam Power and the inauguration of the French Revolution. Next, to the eighteen-thirties, the close of it marked by the arrival of the railways and by the three minor revolutions which recognised Greek nationalism and gave preponderant political power to the middle classes in Britain and France. Third, from the 'thirties to the 'eighties, conveniently marked off in Britain by the first Reform Bill at the beginning and the third Reform Bill at the end of the period—the period during which all India came under the Imperial British sovereignty, the Colonies developed into self-governing states also under that sovereignty, and in Europe Germans and Italians consolidated their nationalities. The fourth period, distinguished as 'recent history,' carries the story down to the present day, when the Empire has been transmuted into a Commonwealth, a union of dependencies and free self-governing states.

The distinguishing note of the treatment adopted in this volume is the fulness of exposition accorded to these three topics—the oversea Empire, the European movements, and industrial development.

As to the method: the author has endeavoured to combine the advantages and to cancel the disadvantages of

the 'chronological' and the 'subject' methods. The book is divided into chapters, each of them covering a specific chronological period, and (with three exceptions) each following consecutively on the last. The exceptions are the two chapters surveying the intellectual and social movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively: and the special treatment adopted for the two chapters covering the period from 1789 to 1815. Each chapter, however, is divided into sections, each of which deals with a particular development during that period. Thus the development of the particular subject—India, Ireland, the Colonies, and so on—can be studied in relation to contemporary events, where it stands, or traced consecutively from chapter to chapter, according to the needs of the student.

The author's personal experience in the teaching of history to many classes of widely varying standards, and as an examiner for various educational bodies, has, he hopes, had a salutary influence upon the manner in which he has discharged the task undertaken; with a due appreciation of the difficulties which assail on the one hand the teacher, and on the other the student, as well as of the ideals of the educationist.

A. D. INNES.

GERRARD'S CROSS,
November 1922.

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CHAPTER I

THE WHIG TRIUMPH: 1714-1739.

I. The European Powers: 1714-1763.

Europe after Utrecht—War of the Austrian Succession—The Seven Years' War.

For five-and-twenty years after the accession of George I. in 1714, Great Britain—though not the European States—enjoyed almost unbroken peace. Then for another four-and-twenty years, in one or another quarter of the globe, she was engaged almost without cessation in a series of wars. For her those wars were all in fact one long duel with France for mastery in America and in India. But it was not a simple duel, because France was occupied all the time with her ambitions and rivalries in Europe as well as beyond the seas, and Great Britain took part in the continental wars as the ally of the foes of France. 1. Fifty years.

Now the War of the Spanish Succession had been fought—from the British point of view—with three objects: to secure the Protestant succession in England, because Louis XIV. had presumed to recognise the rights of the royal family which England had chosen to depose; to prevent France from getting control over the Netherlands; and to prevent France from uniting her crown with that of Spain. Those objects had all been secured by the treaty of Utrecht; but they had not been completely secured. The Stewarts might still be restored in England, by the Jacobite faction with aid from France. France, if opportunity offered, would probably again try to get possession of the Netherlands. A Bourbon was on the Spanish throne who, if the immediate heir of Louis XIV. died, might assert his title to the French succession; while if he did not, the family bond between the Bourbon kings of France and Spain might still lead the two Powers to act as if they were one. Europe after Utrecht.

On the other hand, the Powers which had come out of the war with least satisfaction to themselves were Spain and Austria. For the Hapsburg emperor Charles VI. considered that he had been robbed of Spain; and the Bourbon king of Spain considered that he had been robbed of the Netherlands and the Sicilies which had formed part of the Spanish dominion. So there was bound to be hostility between Spain and Austria. Spain's natural ally would be France; Austria's natural ally would be Britain. The reason why it would be in the interest of Britain to support Austria was this. While Austria held the Netherlands and Sicily, which were the objects desired by Spain and France, there would be no grave threat to the British sea-power; whereas if the Bourbons held the one they would threaten the North Sea and the Channel; if they held the other they would command the Mediterranean, since they had the coastline of France and Spain already.

Austria and Spain.

It might naturally be supposed then that France and Spain would have drawn together at once; yet for several years we find France working in alliance with England instead of with Spain—of course for a very good reason. When Louis XIV. died in 1715, his great-grandson Louis XV., a small sickly child, became king. The next heir by descent was the king of Spain, Philip V. (his uncle), whose succession was barred by the treaty of Utrecht. By the treaty, the heir to the French crown was Louis XIII.'s grandson (Louis XIV.'s nephew), Philip duke of Orleans, who was cousin of Louis XV., and was made regent because the king was a mere child. So Philip of Orleans hoped to become king himself, since the child Louis seemed too feeble to live long; but he was afraid that Philip of Spain, in spite of the treaty of Utrecht, would claim the crown and would find many supporters. Therefore Orleans made a bargain with King George and his ministers in England, that they would together stand by the treaty, to secure the House of Orleans on the French throne and the House of Hanover on the British throne, against the pretensions of the king of Spain in one country and of the exiled Stewarts in the other. Thus there was a close bond of union between the Orleans government in France and the Hanoverian government in England, until the young French king grew up and married. When he had children of his own there could be no more question of a disputed succession, the reason which had drawn the two governments together no longer counted, and there was nothing to hinder the two Bourbon monarchies from acting together whole-heartedly; though many more years passed before

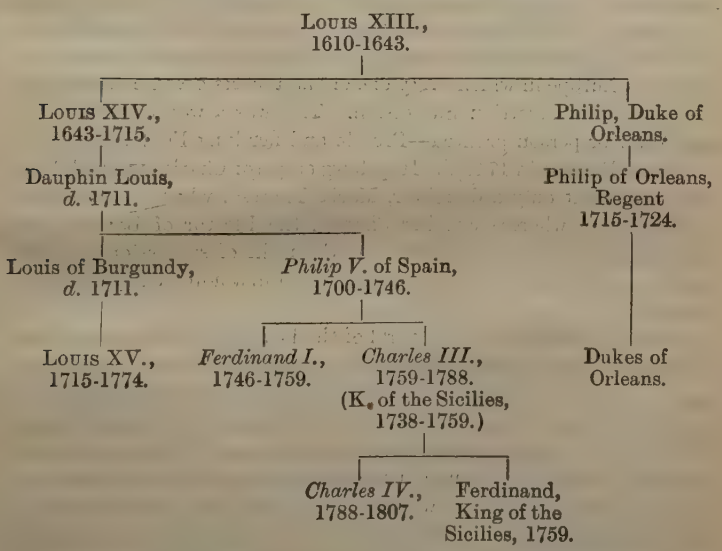
France and Great Britain.

France and Britain ceased to be professed allies. That is why it was not till twenty-six years after the treaty of Utrecht that Britain found herself at war with the Bourbons.

During those twenty-six years, there had been some changes and a good deal of fighting on the Continent. In the fighting, the only real share taken by Britain had been an engagement, which hardly deserves to be called a battle, in which a British fleet sank or captured the whole of a newly-built and newly-manned

Events of the period.

THE BOURBON GENEALOGY


Louis XIII., 1610-1643.
Louis XIV., 1643-1715.
Philip, Duke of Orleans.
Dauphin Louis, d. 1711.
Philip of Orleans, Regent 1715-1724.
Louis of Burgundy, d. 1711.
Philip V. of Spain, 1700-1746.
Louis XV., 1715-1774.
Ferdinand I., 1746-1759.
Charles III., 1759-1788. (K. of the Sicilies, 1738-1759.)
Dukes of Orleans.
Charles IV., 1788-1807.
Ferdinand, King of the Sicilies, 1759.

CAPITALS: Kings of France. *Italics:* Kings of Spain.

Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro in Sicily (1718). The important points to bear in mind are these. First, the treaty of Utrecht had left Britain in possession of Gibraltar and Minorca, so that she could always have a fleet in the Mediterranean. Secondly, it had given to the Hapsburgs of Austria, Naples—that is, Italy south and east of the states of the Church—and Sardinia as well as the Netherlands. The island of Sicily had gone to the duke of Savoy. But, thirdly, a little later Sicily and Sardinia were exchanged; Sicily as well as Naples—the 'two Sicilies'—

became Austrian, while the duke of Savoy became king of Sardinia. Lastly, there was a tedious and costly war from 1733 to 1738—the 'War of the Polish Succession'—in which Britain took no part though all the other Powers had a hand in it—which resulted in a number of exchanges of territory. Lorraine we may say was added to France, the Sicilies were made a kingdom for the Spanish king's younger son—the third Bourbon monarchy—and in place of the Sicilies sundry duchies in North Italy became attached to, or a part of, the Hapsburg dominion.

2. The next war-period.

THE war which broke out in 1739 began as a private quarrel between England and Spain, the reasons for which concerned no one else; though France was on the point of taking Spain's part when a quite separate struggle for altogether different reasons was started in Europe in which every one of the Powers became mixed up—the War of the Austrian Succession. This was a war by which only one Power or person profited—Prussia and her king Frederick II.

It arose because in 1740 the Hapsburg emperor Charles VI. died, leaving no sons but only a daughter, Maria Theresa, whom he wished to succeed him; whereas another Charles, the Elector of Bavaria, had very good grounds for claiming that the right of succession belonged legally to him—grounds which are explained in a note at the end of the chapter.

The Pragmatic Sanction.

Charles VI. had persuaded several of the Powers, Britain among them, to promise to secure the succession to his daughter, whom he declared to be his heir in a decree called the 'Pragmatic Sanction,' which those Powers were said to have 'guaranteed'—that is, pledged themselves to carry out. From others, the Bavarian Elector had secured promises of support for his own claim. When the emperor died, it was not likely that the question would be settled without fighting; but it was Frederick of Prussia who forced on the war which followed. He pretended that he had a right to one of the Hapsburg provinces, Silesia, which bordered on his Prussian kingdom, and before any one else was ready he marched his army into Silesia, and announced that if Maria Theresa would cede it to him, he would support her claim to the rest of the inheritance, but not otherwise. She of course refused to submit to this act of robbery; Bavaria and Prussia became allies for the partition of the Hapsburg or Austrian dominions; and the rest of the Powers took sides as seemed to be in the interest of each, with very little regard to their promises. Once more, as in the War of the Spanish Succession,

Result of the war.

the Bourbons and Bavaria were ranged against the Hapsburgs and Great Britain (with Hanover of course), while Prussia fought or stood neutral, made or deserted alliances, as suited her from time to time; and the final result was that Frederick kept his grip of Silesia, and the rest of the Powers ended very much where they had begun, but with Maria Theresa's husband, Francis of Lorraine, as emperor.

But while the war was going on, Britain had been freed once for all from farther danger of civil war. The Stewarts made their last attempt to win back the crown they had lost, and were so hopelessly defeated that Jacobitism never had another chance or the shadow of a chance. And on the other hand the French and British in India—where they were commercial rivals and nothing more—had begun to fight each other. Having begun, neither would be content till the other was beaten out of the field. Neither as yet was thinking of conquering India; but in actual fact the sovereignty of India in a still far-off future was the stake for which the rival companies were fighting.

3. Between the wars.

This war dragged on till 1748. It was followed by eight years of peace in Europe; but during those years the French and British companies found ways and means of carrying on their fight in India though their countries at home were not at war; and also the British 'Plantation' and New England Colonies in America were skirmishing with the French colonists in Canada who were pushing southwards towards their other colony (Louisiana) on the Gulf of Mexico at the back (that is, on the west) of the British colonies.

And meanwhile Europe, though at peace, was preparing for another still bigger struggle, as it proved. For Maria Theresa was bent on getting back from Frederick of Prussia the province of Silesia which he had torn from her in the last war. She meant not only to recover Silesia but to crush Frederick, whom naturally enough she hated very bitterly. But she knew that for this she would get no help from England and Hanover—bound together because George King of England was also George Elector of Hanover—since it would not suit Hanover to have Frederick crushed. So she won over France to her side, by very skilful diplomacy, and also Russia, the mighty Power which had been built up by Peter the Great, but had hitherto taken little part in the affairs of Western Europe.

The alliance of France with Austria caused Frederick to seek the alliance of Britain; so that when the war came, the great States were combined in an entirely new fashion—Britain, Prussia, Hanover, and

some small German states on one side; Austria, France, Russia, and some German states on the other. This 'Seven Years' War' went on from 1756 to 1763. On the Continent, Frederick was all the time fighting at bay—with some help from Britain and Hanover—against the foes who encircled him on the south, the west, and the east; foes each one of whom could put in the field larger armies than any he could muster. All he could do was to hold his own against the enormous odds. Almost single-handed, he succeeded, and his success established Prussia as a continental Power on a secure equality with Austria, France, and Russia. But on the sea, in India, and in America, Britain fought France, crushed her, and won for herself the position of the sole European Power with a footing in India and in North America.

The Seven Years' War.

There is however one thing more which we have to note here. At the beginning of the century, Spain, Holland, Sweden, and Turkey all counted as Powers of the first rank. By the middle of it every one of them had fallen definitely to the second rank, or lower. There was not one of them which could with any hope of success challenge any one of the five greater Powers to a duel.

The lesser Powers.

II. India: 1000-1739.

The Land and the People—The Mohammedan Conquests—
The Mogul Empire—The Europeans.

We must turn back now from our main story; because we have reached the point at which that story is taking us into new regions and among new peoples which since the middle of the eighteenth century have come into the framework of the British Empire. All we have heard of India so far is that first an English and then a French trading company had set up a growing trade with that vast and very distant land which could only be reached by the long sea-voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. The traders were there only by leave of the Indian emperor who was known in England as the Great Mogul. There had been no thought of conquest. Yet within five-and-twenty years after the outbreak of the European war in 1739, the foundations had been laid of an English dominion which went on growing and growing till all India was under British control and formed a part of what was then rightly called the British Empire but, because of the changes which have taken place within it, is now better named the British Commonwealth.

1. A new subject.

Since India then is coming into our story, we must understand what India means, and meant in the eighteenth century. And to do that we must go back to the far past before English or French had set foot in India at all. We must set our imaginations to work—not to invent history but to see it and feel it as something real.

In the first place we have to realise that India is very nearly as big as Europe without Russia—Europe west of a line drawn from Dantzig on the Baltic to Constantinople—and as populous; inhabited by peoples who differ as much from each other as Germans, Serbians, English, French, and Spaniards, talking half a dozen different languages, and divided from each other by the antagonism of two great religions—Hinduism and Mohammedanism—more violently than Catholics and Protestants are divided in Europe; while, like Catholics and Protestants in Europe, both Hindus and Mohammedans are spread over the whole land. The Indian people.

India is a single country, a nation, only in the sense that Charlemagne's empire, or the Roman empire when it included Britain, France, Spain, Italy, and the Balkan Peninsula, was a single country. Still there is one thing which has always kept India apart from the rest of the world—its geographical boundaries. On two sides it is bounded by oceans too wide to be crossed (in ancient times) by large fleets; and on the other two sides by mountains which are very hard to cross. Until the Europeans found the sea-route round Africa at the end of the fifteenth century, invading armies had been able to reach it only through the mountain passes between it and Afghanistan. Until the seventeenth century, however, no single ruler had ever been the lord of all India. The monarchs who had set up dynasties in the northern half of it, Hindustan, had never been able to subjugate the southern half, the Deccan, which is full of mountain ranges that are hard to penetrate.

Now until the century in which the Normans conquered England, all India had been broken up into a number of Hindu kingdoms, the boundaries of which were always changing because every king thought it his business to conquer his neighbours and make them his subjects. The land of India.

If you look at the map of India, you will see a great river flowing across it from east to west, the Nerbudda, which may be called the boundary between north and south, 'greater' Hindustan and the Deccan. Next you will see in this greater Hindustan two mighty rivers (with their tributaries), the Indus flowing from the north-west mountains down to the north-west coast, and the Ganges flowing from nearly the same part of the mountains south-east and

then east till it reaches the bay of Bengal. The northern part of the Indus basin is the Punjab, which means the Land of the Five Rivers. Any one invading India from Afghanistan must come through the mountains first into the Punjab. The lower part of the Ganges basin, the part nearer its mouth, is called generally Bengal; the upper part, west of the city of Benares, is Hindustan proper, the part to which the name of Hindustan is specially given though it is also used for the whole of Northern India. In the old days there was generally a big Hindustan kingdom, to which the Punjab or Bengal or both might or might not be subject. But the northern kingdoms hardly ever held any part of the many Deccan kingdoms for more than a few years.

2. The Mohammedan kingdoms, 1000-1500.

THEN in the eleventh century began the invasions of Mohammedan conquerors from beyond the mountains—mixed hosts of Afghans and Turks from Central Asia which is still called Turkestan, Turk-land. First these foreign conquerors set up a Mohammedan kingdom in the Punjab, a kingdom in which Mohammedans ruled over Hindus. Hindus who turned Mohammedan were treated as members of the ruling race; the rest were treated as conquered subjects. When King John was reigning in England, the Punjab sultan conquered Hindustan proper, and made Delhi (which is now the capital city of India) the seat of the sultanate which was always from that time the most powerful in India. Sometimes this Delhi empire covered the whole of greater Hindustan; always with the Mohammedans ruling over the Hindus as subjects whom they often treated very harshly. In the fourteenth century the Delhi empire broke up again into separate kingdoms; but a successful soldier conquered a great part of the Deccan on his own account, and set up in the northern half of it a Mohammedan kingdom of his own, like the old Delhi kingdom—though this too afterwards split up into five kingdoms.

3. The Mogul Conquest, 1525-30.

AT the end of the fifteenth century the Delhi sultanate was once more expanding over the Punjab and Bengal; but soon a new Mohammedan invader came down from Afghanistan through the Punjab, Babar the Turk; who, being descended on the mother's side from another Central-Asian people, the Mongols, was called also the Mughal or Mogul. Babar conquered most of Hindustan and founded the Mogul dynasty about 1530 during the reign of our Henry VIII., a few years after the Portuguese had reached Southern India by sea.

Babar died too soon, and his son was not strong enough, to secure his conquest. It was his grandson Akbar who really established and organised the Mogul empire over the whole of greater Hindustan and even began to extend it into the Deccan. His reign began just before and ended just after that of our Queen Elizabeth. Early in the reign of his son Jehangir, the newly-started London East India Company was first given leave to set up a 'factory' or trading centre at Surat, to the south of Bombay where the Portuguese were already established. (A factory meant a place of business, not a place where things are manufactured by machinery). Then as was related in the second volume of this history, other English factories were set up during the century at Madras and Fort William which we call Calcutta, as well as at Bombay which was given to Charles II. as the dowry of his Portuguese wife, Catherine of Braganza.

Akbar, one of the greatest of rulers, was not merely a conqueror. In an age when in Europe Catholics and Protestants were zealously persecuting each other, the age of the Spanish Inquisition, of Alva in the Netherlands, and of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Akbar in India broke from the tradition of all the earlier sultans by treating Hindus and Mohammedans exactly alike. For the first time all the people of his empire, whatever their race, language, or religion, were on an equal footing. They could hardly be turned into one people, because of the religious institution of caste among Hindus, which forbids marriage between members of different castes. There is more difficulty about marriage between Hindus and Mohammedans than between Catholics and Protestants. But they all had the chance of beginning to look upon themselves as forming one nation. And this policy was continued by Akbar's son and grandson, Jehangir and Shah Jehan, who also extended the Mogul dominion and set about the conquest of the Mohammedan kingdoms of the Deccan. **Akbar.**

Then, at the time of the Restoration in England, Aurangzib became Mogul; and in his long reign of nearly fifty years he undid all the great work of Akbar. For he was a fanatical Mohammedan; he renewed the old persecution of Hindus, making the hostility between Hindus and Mohammedans as bitter as it had ever been. He extended his empire over all India, but even that made it weaker instead of stronger, because it was so unmanageably large that he could not control the governors whom he was obliged to place in charge of the great provinces into which it was divided. But he weakened it still more by setting Mohammedan against Hindu; of **Aurangzib, 1658-1707.**

which one result was that the Maratha race, in the north-western Deccan, united under a great chief named Sivaji, and became an almost independent Power. And so it befell, when Aurangzib died, at the time when Marlborough was fighting the French in Flanders, that his mighty empire was soon falling to pieces. The Moguls still reigned, dwelling at Delhi; but in each great province the Mohammedan governor, who was called the Mogul's viceroy or lieutenant—the Nizam of Haidarabad in the south, the Nawab of Bengal, the Nawab of Oudh on the Ganges—was really as independent as an Elector of Hanover or Bavaria under the Hapsburg emperor; and before long the Mogul himself became little more than a puppet in the hands of the chiefs of the Maratha confederacy who were making themselves lords of an ever-growing dominion, spreading eastward round the north of the Deccan and north up to the Jumna on which stood the imperial city of Delhi.

And then in 1739, when the struggle between French and British was just about to begin, the last chance of a real revival of the Mogul empire disappeared. For one more invader swept down from beyond the mountains, Nadir Shah the Persian, who fell upon Delhi itself, and sacked it, carrying off enormous booty, though he did not stay to set up a new rule of his own. The glory and power of the Mogul empire had departed for ever, though in name the Mogul was still the lord of all India, the sovereign from whom the native princes, Mohammedan or Hindu, drew their authority.

4. The Europeans.

We turn then to the history of the Europeans in India. The Portuguese appeared first in 1497, and for a century had no European rivals. They came not merely for trade but for empire. But for a tiny state like Portugal to win great dominions on land from powerful monarchs like the Deccan kings was impossible. What they really wanted was naval stations in the Indian Ocean which would give them command of the seas so that they could shut out all European rivals. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, both English and Dutch had become stronger by sea than the Portuguese. When the English and Dutch East India Companies were formed, they proved rivals too strong for the Portuguese. By this time Akbar had established the Mogul empire over Northern India, but the south was still independent. Jehangir granted Surat to the English, very much as in mediaeval times English kings had granted quarters in London, and trading privileges, to the great German commercial towns of the Hanseatic League. In 1639 a Deccan prince

The British.

granted them Madras; Charles II. gave the Company Bombay when it had been given to him by Portugal; the Mogul granted them Hugli, on one of the mouths of the Ganges—a factory which was transferred to Calcutta and named Fort William during the reign of William III.

The Mogul empire was at the very height of its splendour when the French came into the field with a trading Company formed by the great minister Colbert in 1664. At the time, the Dutch were the only rivals of the British—and not very active rivals in India itself, because Ceylon and the Archipelago, the islands to the south-east, which had been left almost entirely to them by the English, gave them as much as they could manage. Then, and for the next twenty-four years, the French and English Governments were on friendly terms. The French made headway. They were more skilful than the English in making friends with the native magnates; and before long they too had their three great factories at Mahé south of Bombay, at Pondicherry south of Madras, and at Chandernagore in Bengal. Each of the Companies was always trying to get special privileges for itself alone, in order to have advantages over its rival, and presently each was beginning to think that it would do better still if its competitor were out of the way. But what both wanted was trade and wealth; so when France and Britain fell to fighting each other in Europe in the reigns of William III. and Anne, the Companies agreed that between them there should be no fighting. So during the war-time, and the five-and-twenty years of peace which followed, they went on competing with each other as traders, and in trying to win the goodwill of the natives, but remained outwardly on friendly terms.

The French.

There was always however this great difference between the two. The British Company was a private concern which asked nothing more from the British Government than a free hand to manage its own affairs, make its own arrangements with the natives, and take its own measures for its own protection, together with the exclusion of rival British traders; it was so prosperous that it could afford to pay the Government for its privileges. The French Company on the other hand was started by the French Government, was controlled by the Government, and often had to be helped by the Government. The British method proved in the long run to be the best; but it is quite possible that it would not have triumphed if the British Company, when it came to fighting the French Company, had not had behind it the control of the seas by the British navy—a control which made its final victory practically certain.

Different methods.

III. The Hanoverian Succession: 1714-1739.

The Revolution—The Supremacy of Parliament—The Fifteen—Jacobitism.

QUEEN ANNE, the last of our Stewart monarchs, died on 1st August 1714. Her heir by legitimate hereditary succession was her Roman Catholic brother James Edward, the son of the deposed James II., commonly known to his adherents as the Chevalier and to his opponents as the Pretender; a term strictly correct, because it means merely a claimant to that of which some one else is actually in possession, but offensive because in popular use it implies that his claim is fraudulent. Her heir by Act of Parliament and consent of the majority of the nation was her cousin George, Elector of Hanover, the Protestant great-grandson of her own great-grandfather James I., whose other legitimate descendants were all Roman Catholics, and were therefore like James Edward barred from the succession. The action of the Whig peers in the last days of Anne's life prevented any open opposition to the proclamation of George I. as king, as soon as the breath was out of Anne's body.

1. The Accession of George I., 1714.

Six weeks later the new king arrived in England. He appointed a new ministry, all of whom were Whigs except one Tory, Sunderland, who had always supported the Hanoverian succession. Oxford and Bolingbroke were dismissed; the latter, fearing impeachment, fled to the court of the Chevalier. A general election returned a huge Whig majority to the House of Commons, because nearly all avowed Tories were suspected of Jacobite sympathies. Practically the Tories as a party disappeared. Whig governments ruled the country for half a century, while dissatisfied Whigs formed the Oppositions.

The Whig supremacy.

The accession of George I. set the seal upon the Revolution of 1688. In the old days the king had chosen his ministers and ruled the country as he willed, but always with this limitation—that he must not override the law or set at naught the established customs of the realm. That principle was laid down in Magna Carta. Out of it grew up a second limitation. He could not get enough money by lawful means to carry on the government, unless the people, through Parliament, chose to grant him supplies. It followed that they would not grant the supplies, unless Parliament approved of his policy—the

Crown and Parliament.

objects on which the money would be spent. When the Stewarts took up a policy and employed ministers disapproved of by Parliament, it refused supplies. Neither Crown nor Parliament would give way, an armed conflict followed, and the Crown was beaten. For a while, not Parliament but the Army which had beaten the Crown took charge of affairs; then both Parliament and Crown were restored. The dependence of the Crown upon Parliament for supplies could no longer be questioned. But the renewed attempts of James II. to override the law brought about the Revolution, and this time the limitations of the royal powers were definitely laid down in a series of statutes the chief of which was the Bill of Rights.

But this did not complete the Revolution. Still, to all appearance, it was the king who directed the policy of the country, the king who chose the ministers who were to carry it out. Only every year made it more clear that the policy and the ministers must command the approval, not merely the perhaps unwilling consent, of the majority in Parliament. Since Parliament had come to be divided into two distinct parties, Whigs and Tories, that meant that all or nearly all the ministers would have to be of one party, the party which had a majority in Parliament. And that really meant that it was the will not of the Crown but of the majority in Parliament which must settle the ministers and the policy; or perhaps we should rather say, the chief ministers must be the men whom Parliament trusted to direct policy wisely. While William lived he could himself do a great deal of the choosing and directing because he could always threaten to resign the Crown, and the country required him. The influence of the Crown grew weaker under Anne. But when George succeeded Anne it almost disappeared though not altogether.

The Revolution of 1688.

Why did George's succession make this difference? Because, though the country had felt that it could not do without William—since if he went James II. would come back—it did not feel that it could not do without George. At the worst, a Jacobite restoration would put on the throne a young man who might give trouble but would have very little chance of playing the tyrant. The country did not want a Jacobite restoration; it wanted a Protestant king; but it only preferred George to James just so long as George was content to be a dummy filling the throne so that his cousin could not sit on it; he was useful only on condition that he effaced himself and did nothing. For the man himself it could have

2. Weakness of the Crown, 1714.

neither affection nor even respect—much less the confidence and admiration, however reluctant, which it had been impossible to withhold from William. Sentiment, especially feminine sentiment, could easily gather about the young exile, the grandson of King Charles the Martyr, who refused to buy a crown by surrendering his faith; sentimental loyalty to a gross German princeling with a bevy of coarse German mistresses, who could neither speak nor understand English decently, was inconceivable. In short, the Hanoverian succession was tolerated as a makeshift; if it gave trouble, the country would prefer the Jacobite alternative.

Consequently George found it both prudent and convenient to efface himself, or let himself be effaced. He did not want to interfere with British affairs which he did not understand. If his ministers met in council, their discussions were unintelligible, so he stayed away, contenting himself with a report of the proceedings from the minister most in his confidence. In fact he could hardly be really in touch with more than two or three of the Council, who could keep the rest informed as to his views when he had any, and could convey to them his acceptance of their decisions.

Ministerial rule.

So King George became a mere figurehead, the Whig chiefs chose his ministers, and the prominent Whigs who were not chosen went into opposition and denounced the government for preferring the interests of Hanover to those of England. Between the Whigs there was no dividing line of principle—government and opposition differed mainly about questions of expediency and personal jealousies and rivalries. Keeping a government in office meant that the group of ministers could exercise enough influence—either by downright bribery or by distributing offices under government with little work and high pay—to secure the votes of a majority of the members of parliament. But it very soon came to be the constitutional practice that the members of the ministry were chosen or dismissed at the will of the one or two who directed policy, held the most important offices, and best understood the degrading but profitable art of 'managing' votes. It is true that both George I. and George II. occasionally tried to assert themselves against a minister, or to substitute one whom they liked for one whom they disliked; but they always had to come back to the man who could control the voting in the Commons. The supremacy of parliament could never again be challenged, though later George III. tried—for a time, with complete success—to get his own way by managing the voting himself.

The Whigs.

Though the skill of the Whigs had nipped Bolingbroke's schemes for a Jacobite restoration in the bud, a Jacobite insurrection popularly known as the 'Fifteen' was raised a year later in the autumn of 1715. It was a very foolish affair. A few Jacobites, especially in Scotland, were really moved by a fervent loyalty to the exiled House. The cavalier tradition made a great many country squires prefer the Stewart to the Hanoverian succession in a half-hearted way, but they were not ready to take serious risks. On the other hand, no one was fervently loyal to the new dynasty, but since a definite settlement had been made, it was common-sense to abide by it, and the hatred of popery kept the majority on the side of the Protestant succession; also the government had a standing army maintained by public money, whereas the Jacobites had to depend on untrained volunteers and private subscriptions.

3. The 'Fifteen.'

Still, the attempt was made, without any one having taken the trouble to work out military plans or ways and means. In the Scottish Highlands, the earl of Mar raised the standard of King James and was joined by a few chiefs with their clansmen. In the north of England the earl of Derwentwater and a Northumbrian country gentleman, Thomas Forster, collected some hundreds of adherents from both sides of the border. But no one knew what to do. Instead of joining hands, Mar's army remained in the Highlands while Argyll was collecting troops to fight him, and Forster, after waiting some weeks to make up his mind, marched south by way of Carlisle to Preston. There he was frightened into surrendering to the government forces commanded by General Wade, on 13th November. On the same day Mar and Argyll met at Sheriffmuir in Perthshire. Both sides, being thoroughly half-hearted, were more inclined to run away than to fight; and a mocking ballad preserves the story of the battle:

Its feebleness.

> There 's some say that we wan, and some say that they wan,
> And some say that none wan at a', man;
> But ae thing I 'm sure
> That at Shirra-muir
> A battle there was that I saw, man:
> And we ran, and they ran, and they ran, and we ran,
> And we ran and they ran awa', man.

However, some of Argyll's troops but none of Mar's remained on the field, so the battle counted as a Jacobite defeat. Its importance lay only in its showing very clearly that there was not enough heart or intelligence in the rebellion to give it a chance of

Its collapse.

success even in Scotland, while in England it had already flickered out for the same reason.

Mar remained in arms for some months longer. James himself landed in Scotland and joined his followers; but he was a melancholy and depressing person, and his arrival only quenched the last lingering sparks of enthusiasm. When some weeks later, at the beginning of 1716, Argyll began to move, the insurgents did not wait to fight. James and some of the chiefs retired to France, and the clansmen went back to their glens.

The Hanoverian government had triumphed. It dealt mercifully with the rebels. Only a very few of the ringleaders suffered the death penalty for their treason, not because George was a generous person, but because the victorious party was not quite sure that sooner or later the Jacobites might not meet with success, and take harsh vengeance if they were harshly treated now. Their uncertainty at the moment had a curious result. A general election for parliament was close at hand, since by the Triennial Act the life of parliament was limited to three years. If the Tories were returned to power, there would be trouble, so parliament passed the Septennial Act, which made seven years instead of three the outside limit for its own life and that of all future parliaments; thus putting off the election for four years. The Septennial Act remained the law, till it was changed in 1911.

The Septennial Act.

Once again while George I. was still king, a feeble attempt was made in 1720 by a few Jacobites who landed on the west coast and were promptly dispersed. The fact was, all clear-headed Jacobites knew that they could only hope for success if they were supplied with men, money, and arms by a foreign Power. As long as England and Scotland enjoyed peace and material prosperity under the Hanoverian rulers, the Protestant succession was in no serious danger. Ireland, where the earlier Stewarts had always found support, no longer counted. The Catholic population there was disarmed and made utterly helpless by the penal laws; while the Protestant population would fight to the last gasp against a Stewart restoration, which would turn the tables on them and put them under the heel of the Catholics.

Jacobitism.

Always however there were three possibilities for Jacobitism. The Georges might irritate the people by misgovernment. Or the people might become actively hostile if their own material prosperity fell off. Or Britain might quarrel with foreign Powers, in which case her enemies

would probably give the Jacobites all the backing they could, in order that she might be put out of action abroad by civil strife at home. The Georges had sense enough to make the first unlikely. The commercial policy of Walpole, who guided British affairs from 1720 to 1739, gave to England at least greater material prosperity than she had ever known before. And the same minister studiously kept her out of any foreign wars until his hand was forced in 1739, when the country had been accustomed to the Hanoverians through five-and-twenty years. The last Jacobite effort was made only when England was once more actually at war with France, in 1745.

IV. Walpole: 1714-1739.

Walpole in Opposition—The South Sea Bubble—Walpole's Foreign Policy—Walpole's Domestic Policy.

After the death of Louis XIV. in 1715, Britain and France were in close alliance for several years, for the reasons already explained. During the first five years they did actually go to war with Spain, which was trying to upset the Utrecht settlement, and made an attack upon Austria. It was this that led to the collision between the British and Spanish fleets—before war was actually declared—in which the Spanish fleet was destroyed off Cape Passaro (1718). The story goes that the despatch which announced this victory was the shortest on record:—'Sir,—We have taken or destroyed all the ships which were upon this coast'—the real despatch however can be read among the State Papers, and was not quite so brief. The fact was that on the sea no one had a chance against the British navy; the Orleans government, being allied to Britain, left its ally to take care of the sea and made no attempt to revive the French navy; and when the Spanish minister Alberoni tried to revive the Spanish navy, it was wiped out at Passaro.

1. Passaro, 1718.

The Whig chiefs who at first were at the head of the government under George I. were inclined to interfere actively in continental affairs, while another group of Whigs, whose leaders were Robert Walpole and Lord Townshend, went into opposition. It was this government which passed the Septennial Act, and tried to pass another Act, known as Sunderland's Peerage Bill, to increase the power of the House of Lords—or rather of those families of which the peers at that time were members. It was always the prerogative of the king to make any new peers he chose; and in the

The first Whig Ministry.

last reign, when Whigs and Tories were very evenly divided in the Lords, several new peers had been created simply in order to give one party a majority. Besides, any commoner who distinguished himself as a statesman or a soldier had the chance of being given a peerage as a reward for his public services. But Sunderland's Bill proposed to forbid the creation of any new peer except when one of the existing peerages died out. If the Bill had been carried, a new family would hardly ever have got into the peerage, and there would have been no way at all of forcing the Lords to agree to the wishes of the elected chamber. The Commons however refused to pass the Bill.

WALPOLE and Townshend were presently brought into power by another affair which really had nothing to do with political opinions.

2. The South Sea Bubble.

This was what is known as the South Sea Bubble, a great financial disaster for which the ministers were in part to blame. In the reign of Queen Anne, a big commercial company—something like the East India Company—had been formed for trading in the South Seas, which meant chiefly the islands and Spanish mainland of South and Central America. Some trading rights with Spanish America were obtained for Britain by the treaty of Utrecht. The company thought that if the government would give it the monopoly—the sole right of carrying on the trade, like the East India Company in the Indian Ocean—it would make gigantic profits. Just at this time nearly every one, in France as well as in England, had a wild belief that by buying shares in a trading company they would become enormously rich in a very short time without any trouble. The South Sea Company easily got together a number of subscribers, who offered the government a very large sum of money in return for the monopoly and other privileges. The government accepted the bargain. So far there was nothing much wrong; there was trade enough to pay fair interest on the money subscribed. Sensible business men took shares, reckoning that they would get good interest certainly, very good possibly, and probably, if they wanted to sell their shares, would get a higher price than they had paid.

The Bubble grows.

But the public took it into their heads that the interest was going to be not merely good or even very good, but very much bigger than anything that had ever been known. They began to pay double the price of the original shares, and then double that again. Wise men warned them—Robert Walpole for one—but they would not listen. Men sold everything they could sell, and bought

shares with every penny they could rake together; the price of shares doubled again and went on going higher. A few people made great sums by selling at the high prices the shares they had bought cheap; among them most of the directors of the company and some ministers of the Crown—men who knew perfectly well that they were encouraging the unlucky purchasers to give for their shares ten times as much as they were worth.

And then the purchasers took fright. They discovered that they were only going to get a fraction of the interest they had expected; panic seized them and they began to try and sell for a half or a quarter, or a tenth of the price they had given—anything they could get. Of course thousands of them were ruined—and ruined thousands more who had never touched the business, steady sober traders to whom they owed money which they could not pay; and of course they all divided the blame for what was mainly the result of their own folly and greed between the wicked directors and the wicked ministers, without waiting to ask which of the ministers had made anything out of the business.

The panic.

But luckily it was not to the Tory remnant that they turned but to the opposition Whigs. Walpole had warned them, Walpole was known to be a master of figures, Walpole would find the way of escape from general ruin—and he would not shelter the criminals. Walpole, Townshend, and their friends took the places of the fallen ministers in 1721; and for eighteen years his ascendency though sometimes challenged remained unbroken.

Walpole in power.

From 1721 to 1730 Walpole and Townshend shared the leadership. But their tempers were not suited to such a partnership; and Townshend then chose to retire and leave the field clear for his rival when it became clear that one or the other would have to go. He then devoted himself to agricultural pursuits and did much to improve the prevailing methods of farming, especially by the cultivation of roots, which caused him to be nicknamed 'Turnip Townshend'; but that is another part of our story. But whether Walpole was in partnership with Townshend or sole head of the ministry, the whole eighteen years must be counted as the period of Walpole's rule.

3. Townshend.

We need not here try to unravel the very confusing threads of foreign politics during the first ten years; but there are some points to be noted. In 1725 the young Louis XV. was old enough to be married to

Maria, the daughter of a Polish noble, Stanislaus Leczynski, who expected to be made king of Poland—where the crown passed not by heredity but by election—on the death of its actual king, Augustus of Saxony. The regency in France came to an end, the marriage made it likely that the French king would have children, in which case the Spanish king would have no claim to the French succession; and Cardinal Fleury became Louis's chief minister. Like Walpole in England, Fleury wished to keep France out of wars. Peace being the object which both had in view, they worked together to keep the peace, and were apparently on the friendliest terms. But Fleury's real aim was to bring about that close alliance of the two Bourbon monarchies, France and Spain, which had been impossible under the Orleans regency: a union which would necessarily be hostile certainly to Austria and probably to Britain.

Foreign affairs.

The outcome of this was that in 1733 the French and Spanish governments made a secret agreement known as the Family Compact, and at the same time France was drawn into the War of the Polish Succession, which broke out on the sudden death of King Augustus in the same year. One party in Poland favoured his son Augustus III. of Saxony; the other favoured the French king's father-in-law Stanislaus Leczynski. Russia supported Augustus; so did Austria, in return for his guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction.[1] France could not help supporting Stanislaus; Spain as a matter of course took the same side—that is, she was on the watch to attack Austria. This was the finishing touch that united France and Spain in the Family Compact which was to make the Bourbon Powers the joint dictators of Europe. Austria was the immediate enemy—it was not really the Polish succession which mattered to them; but her Italian possessions were to be taken from her and given to Spain. Fleury was sure that Walpole would not take arms to help her. When the war was over, the Bourbons would be much stronger, Austria would be much weaker; and she would be so angry with Britain for leaving her in the lurch that Britain would be left quite alone, and the Bourbons could deal with her at their leisure. Only Fleury forgot one thing—the British fleet. If the Bourbons were to deal with Britain at their ease, they would need a fleet as strong as hers; and for that he made no preparations at all, being probably convinced that the peace-loving Walpole would give way to every demand rather than face a war single-handed.

The Family Compact, 1733.

[1] See p. 4.

Now Walpole's agents in Spain got secret information about that compact. He knew what was going on, though no one else knew that he knew. He made up his mind that England must be kept out of the Polish succession war. While every European State was throwing away treasure and men, England would be losing no men and would be piling up the wealth which would enable her to face a long conflict later if it should be forced upon her. It was by no means certain that Austria would be beaten, and even if she were, the tie of her own interests would still bind her to Britain. Walpole in the end proved right. When the war ended in 1738, Austria in effect exchanged Naples and Sicily, which she had always found troublesome, for the Spanish duchies in North Italy which were more useful to her; while the Sicilies became not a part of the Spanish dominion, but a third Bourbon kingdom under a Spanish prince which was not strong enough to take active part in the later quarrels. All the European States exhausted their resources, while England was piling up wealth. Nevertheless Walpole was himself guilty of one of Fleury's errors. He neglected the navy so that, although it was indisputably the strongest on the seas, it did not in the next war play the decisive part which ought to have been in its power from the beginning.

Walpole and the compact.

The whole domestic policy of Walpole throughout the eighteen years aimed at keeping the country contented, free from violent controversies, and materially prosperous. There are many things which go to the making of real prosperity besides material wealth—moral ideals, noble enthusiasms, intellectual activity. Walpole cared for none of these things. Wealth and ease in his view were all that men desire, and all that he sought to give them. For himself he desired power; and because he would brook no rivals, every man was driven out of office who, when in office, showed either marked ability or vigorous independence. He made many enemies, but he kept power—partly because, in the belief that all politicians at least have their price, he was quite shameless in buying the support of a majority either by downright bribery or by bestowing comfortable appointments upon members of parliament, their friends, and the people who could influence elections to parliament; partly because his real shrewdness gave him success in keeping the country contented and prosperous.

Material wealth.

This he did by not only, as we have already seen, avoiding wars

abroad, but also by avoiding at home all 'contentious' measures (that is, measures which would excite violent opposition), even when he believed that the country would gain by them in the long run. He did not attempt to abolish laws which he thought harsh and unjust, such as those which were intended to shut all dissenters out of public life: he contented himself instead with taking care that they should not be rigidly enforced—because he knew that if he tried to abolish them the cry would be raised that 'the Church was in danger.' It was a fixed rule with him to 'let sleeping dogs lie.'

Sleeping dogs.

But besides this method of keeping things quiet by doing nothing, he quietly carried through other measures which greatly increased the country's foreign trade. In such matters, his success in dealing with the South Sea Bubble troubles made most people ready to trust him to take the wisest course. But even here when he found that one particularly sensible scheme of his, called the Excise Bill, was so hopelessly misunderstood that there were popular riots in opposition to it, he withdrew it—if the people were stupid enough to reject what was for their own good, he would not force it upon them even though he knew that he would get enough support in parliament to carry the measure.

Wise finance.

About Walpole's finance, however, there is more to be said in a later chapter. At this point, the important thing to grasp is that in 1739 it had made Britain so much wealthier than any other European countries that while all the rest were short of money to meet the cost of a long war, she could afford not only to pay her own expenses but to help her allies to pay theirs—though it would have been better still if she had spent some of it already in making her navy and army ready to strike and strike hard the moment war began.

SUMMARIES

Acts of Parliament: 1714-1739.

Septennial Act, 1716. Parliament may be dissolved at any time but must be dissolved within seven years. The previous limit had been three years. The Act remained in force until 1911.

Irish Declaratory Act, 1719, affirms that the Parliament of Great Britain has power to pass legislation for Ireland.

Chronology: 1714-1739.

Events only indirectly affecting the British, and battles in which no British troops were engaged, are printed in *Italics* throughout the chronologies.

1714. Accession of GEORGE I. (to 1727).
1715. *Death of Louis XIV.*
1715-16. The 'Fifteen.'
1716. Septennial Act.
1718. Passaro; Spanish fleet sunk.
1720. South Sea Bubble.
1720-39. Walpole predominant.
1727-60. GEORGE II.
1731. *Pragmatic Sanction.*
1733. Bourbon Family Compact.
Walpole's Excise Bill.
1733-38. *War of Polish Succession.*
1739. War declared on Spain.

NOTES

Walpole's Excise Bill

THE point of Walpole's 'Excise Bill' is not easy to grasp. If it had not been misunderstood at the time, the agitation against it would probably have failed; but the meaning of it was deliberately misrepresented by Walpole's enemies.

'Customs' were the duties levied at the ports on imported goods when they were disembarked, and on goods for export when they were being embarked. 'Excise' was the inland duty on taxable goods, not imported, which were for sale. Excise was very much disliked, because it meant that excise officers invaded people's premises to see if they had any excisable goods.

If Walpole had not called his plan 'excise' there would probably have been no trouble. His scheme was that certain imported goods should be warehoused at the ports when they were disembarked, without paying duty. If, as was often the case, they were not intended for sale in England but were to be re-exported for sale in the colonies or elsewhere, they would be re-embarked without paying any duty at all; whereas under the existing system the duty was paid when they were landed and then most of it was paid back when they were re-embarked—a needlessly expensive business. If on the other hand they were to be sold in England, they would pay the duty when they were withdrawn from the

warehouses instead of on being landed. In short, it was really only a plan for collecting the duties in a simpler manner, at less cost, with less risk from the dishonesty of officials. Moreover, as the duties would not be paid on disembarkation, there would be less temptation to smuggling. So that on the one hand the revenue would have been increased, and on the other the cost of collecting it would have been reduced. The agitation which made Walpole drop the Bill was worked up by Pulteney and Chesterfield, who made people believe (what they themselves knew to be false) that the country was to be flooded with an army of excise officers who would invade their houses and pry into their affairs, acting as government spies, and that there would be an immense increase in the price of the goods brought under the scheme.

The German States and the Prussian Kingdom

GERMANY in the first half of the seventeenth century was divided into a great number of 'principalities,' large and small; at the head of them, though his power over the other princes was small, was the Emperor of the 'Holy Roman Empire,' which included parts of Italy, so that it was not quite strictly the 'German' empire though it is often called by that name. The Emperor was elected by the few princes who had the title of Elector; but though there had to be a formal election, the imperial crown had in practice become hereditary in the House of Hapsburg or Austria. Austria was the German part of the possessions of the Hapsburgs; which included, outside Germany, the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary.

At that time there were seven 'Electors,' three of them archbishops, three lay princes in Germany—the Electors of the Palatinate, Brandenburg, and Saxony—and the king of Bohemia who was actually the Austrian Hapsburg. These four, with the Duke of Bavaria, were the most powerful of the princes, though others such as Hesse, Baden, or Mecklenburg were not far behind. In the second half of the century, Bavaria became an Elector, and one of the dukes of Brunswick (the father of George I.) became Elector of Hanover. Also the Elector of Saxony, Augustus 'the Strong,' was himself elected king of Poland, an independent kingdom outside the empire; though, because the crown was not hereditary but elective, his death in 1733 brought about the War of the Polish Succession.

But the most important change was that which took place in the Electorate of Brandenburg. Besides Brandenburg, of which Berlin was the capital, the Elector owned the duchy of East Prussia, outside Germany and the empire, on the other side of West Prussia which was a part of Poland. Between 1640 and 1688 the 'Great Elector' Frederick

William made Brandenburg the leading state in North Germany, by war, by diplomacy, and by skilful government at home. His son Frederick in 1701, with the necessary consent of the emperor, took the title of king of Prussia, partly perhaps because he was jealous of the Saxon Elector's title as king of Poland, and partly because Prussia, like Poland, was outside the empire. His title as Elector of Brandenburg was swallowed up in the new royal title, though Prussia was a much less important part of his dominions than Brandenburg, where the kings of Prussia continued to reside.

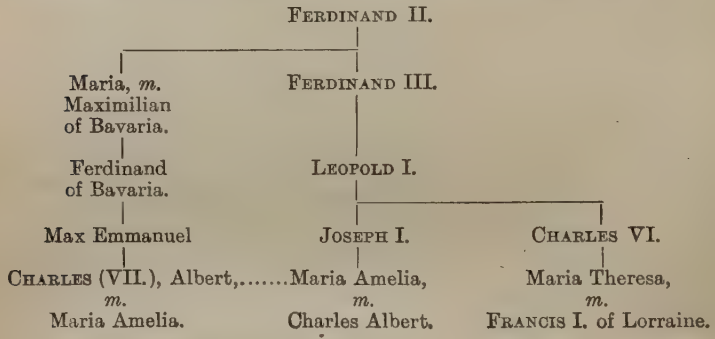
Frederick I. of Prussia was succeeded in 1713 by his son Frederick William I., who had a sort of mania for building up a strong army; not that he wanted to fight any one. He forced his subjects to enter the army, recruited his regiments from abroad, drilled them into the best fighting machine in Europe; but because he did not set them fighting, his army appeared to other folk to be merely a rather foolish hobby. When his son Frederick II. succeeded him in 1740, the world was not thinking of Prussia as a dangerous state; but Frederick found ready for use a prosperous and very well ordered kingdom, government machinery of which the king was absolute master, and an army under perfect discipline. The 'hobby' of an unambitious and peace-loving king was anything but a hobby in the hands of an ambitious military genius. Six months after Frederick's accession, Prussian 'militarism' started on the career which reached its climax in 1914.

The Austrian Succession

The question of the Austrian succession is very difficult to follow. It starts with the Emperor Ferdinand II. who died in 1637. The Hapsburg dominions descended in the direct male line from father to son (or, at the end, brother) for a century. But Ferdinand had a daughter who married Maximilian of Bavaria, and there was an agreement that if the direct male line of the Hapsburgs came to an end, the Hapsburg succession should go to the House of Bavaria. But it was very doubtful whether that agreement held good in law. The Hapsburg male line did in fact end with the death of Charles VI. in 1740. Charles in 1731 issued the 'Pragmatic Sanction' claiming the succession for his own daughter. The Bavarian Elector Charles Albert, great-grandson of Maximilian, claimed it for himself, under the old agreement.

But if this claim were defeated, Charles Albert had a second to put forward. The Emperor Leopold, who died in 1705, had two sons, Joseph who succeeded him, and the Archduke Charles. Neither Joseph nor Charles had a son; but Joseph had a daughter, Maria Amelia, who married Charles Albert. Charles had a daughter, Maria Theresa, who

married Francis of Lorraine. Charles VI. by the rule of male succession succeeded Joseph in 1711. What Charles had possessed as Archduke, apart from what came to him from Joseph, should no doubt go to his daughter; but what came from Joseph ought to pass to Joseph's daughter—Charles Albert's wife—not to his younger brother's daughter, Maria Theresa, merely because Joseph had happened to die first.



CHAPTER II

THE INDECISIVE STRUGGLE: 1739-1756.

I. The First War: (i) Europe, 1739-1748.

The Spanish Quarrel—The War of the Austrian Succession: first phase, to 1744; second phase, 1745-48.

1. The coming war.

When we look back now to the earlier half of the eighteenth century, it is easy enough to see that sooner or later there was bound to be a battle between Britain and France for dominion in North America and in India. Neither Britain nor France would have willingly agreed to any division which the other would have accepted (in the way that the European Powers divided up Africa at the end of the nineteenth century). But even as late as the time when the struggle began, neither France nor Britain was thinking of India and America as the stake. France wished to be, and Britain did not wish her to be, more powerful than any other State in Europe; therefore, when a European conflict broke out, the two Powers were on opposite sides.

The Spanish quarrel.

When war actually broke out, it started simply as a quarrel between Britain and Spain, for no better reason than that both lost their tempers, made unreasonable demands on each other, and so fell to fighting. The excuse was the old trouble, as old as the days of Queen Elizabeth. The Spaniards would allow no one to trade with their colonies; which was stupid of them, but they were within their rights. The English tried to trade in defiance of the Spanish laws, and when the Spaniards caught them in the act they were duly punished. In the old days they might have been quite legally punished as pirates; if they had been so punished, no one would have had any right to complain; as a matter of fact they were illegally punished as heretics (a very different thing). That was in Elizabeth's time. The same sort of thing went on through the seventeenth century without leading again to open war. Then in 1713 by the treaty of Utrecht the British were at last granted certain trading rights—the right of supplying the Spanish

colonies with negro slaves from Africa, and the right of sending one (but only one) merchant ship every year. But this did not satisfy them. They went on with the 'illicit' trading, the trading forbidden by Spanish law, for which the popular name is 'smuggling.'

When they were caught they suffered lawful punishment as smugglers; and of this they had no right to complain. What they did complain of was that while the Spanish guard-ships had a right, in Spanish waters—that is, within a certain distance from the Spanish lands—to search foreign vessels for 'contraband' goods, their habit was to search ships outside the Spanish waters, on the High Seas, where any ship may go where it chooses and carry what it chooses. Moreover it was said that the Spanish officers often treated the British sailors on these occasions with great brutality. One story of an English Captain Jenkins, who swore that the Spaniards had cut off his ear though he was quite innocent, created so much excitement that it was looked upon as the cause of the war, which was called the War of Jenkins' Ear.

Right of search.

This then was the quarrel over which Britain and Spain went to war in 1739; very much against the will of Walpole, who was quite sure that France would side with Spain—he knew all about the Family Compact, though the country did not—and he did not believe that Britain could fight single-handed against France and Spain together. For all his skill as a peace-minister, a worse war-minister could hardly have been found. Still, though he gave way to the public clamour, against his own judgment, and declared war, he remained for some time at the head of the government.

Walpole's position.

When foreign policy was concerned, the Georges were much more anxious to interfere than in home affairs, because they were Electors of Hanover as well as kings of England. George II. had succeeded his father in 1727, but Walpole had hitherto kept control in his own hands; partly because the person who managed George was his queen, Caroline of Anspach, and Caroline had great confidence in Walpole. But George himself liked Walpole's ablest rival, Carteret, better than Walpole himself. The queen had died in 1737, so that Walpole's position was not so strong as it had been; he managed the war badly; and so in 1742 he had to retire in favour of Carteret.

THE war with Spain started promisingly. Admiral Vernon was sent to the West Indies, and there he captured Porto Bello, on the Spanish Main. But after that he did nothing till, late in the next year (1740),

more ships were sent out to him, carrying troops commanded by General Wentworth. Then in 1741 matters went badly; the expedition failed to capture Cartagena, each of the commanders laying the blame on the other. France was threatening to join in, but had not yet done so actively, though she sent a naval squadron to the West Indian seas.

2. War begins, 1739.

Meanwhile the conflagration was beginning in Europe. In 1740 the Emperor Charles VI. died; the Bavarian Elector Charles Albert put forward his claim to the Hapsburg dominions, and also became a candidate for the crown of the empire, which was elective not hereditary, though for nearly three hundred years it had always gone to the Hapsburg candidate, generally without opposition. On the other hand, Maria Theresa, the daughter of Charles VI., was actually in possession of the Hapsburg dominions, and her husband Francis of Lorraine (who had exchanged Lorraine for the Italian duchy of Tuscany) wished to be elected emperor. So the Powers who had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction had to make up their minds whether they would keep their promises.

The Austrian Succession, 1740.

Frederick II. of Prussia began the fighting by seizing the province of Silesia for himself at the end of 1740. Maria Theresa would not buy his support by surrendering the province to him; so Frederick and she went to war. Spain claimed Austrian duchies in Italy. Bavaria laid no claim to Silesia or the duchies; France wanted Austria to be broken up; so in 1741, Bavaria, Prussia, France, and Spain had agreed upon a partition of the Austrian dominion, and on supporting the election of Charles Albert as emperor. On the other hand, while Walpole did not want to fight France, honour and sentiment both bound Britain to support Maria Theresa, though King George's Hanoverian sympathies were a little but only a very little more on the side of Prussia than of Austria. He and Carteret would have liked the Austrian queen to win Frederick to her side by giving up Silesia. Every one of the Powers was in fact looking out for its own interests—for the sake of which it was quite ready to sacrifice those of its allies. There was no real unity of purpose among them on either side, and very little united action.

The Powers concerned.

We need only trace very shortly the general progress of the war. The curious point we have to notice is that while French armies were marching about, France professed not to be at war with any one, but to be merely an 'auxiliary' of Spain and Bavaria, while in like manner British and Hanoverian troops went to the Netherlands as

auxiliaries of Austria. Walpole resigned early in 1742, and Carteret procured the temporary retirement of Frederick by persuading Maria Theresa to cede him most of Silesia. In 1743 the battle of Dettingen took place between the French and British—though they were 'not at war.' King George himself was in command of the British forces, which by all rules ought to have been annihilated, but by sheer obstinate fighting managed to win a victory. This was the last battle in which any king of England was allowed to take part in person. No difference had been made in the struggle by the actual election of Charles Albert as emperor in 1742.

Progress of the war, 1740-44.

But in 1744 Frederick was again in alliance with France and the Emperor, and at last France 'declared war' on Britain and the other allies of Maria Theresa. This revived in England and Scotland the idea of a Jacobite restoration to be effected by French aid, and it gave Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, the chance he had been awaiting of attacking the British at Madras. Before telling the stories however of the Jacobite rising of '45 and the beginning of the struggle in India, we will finish that of the 'War of the Austrian Succession.'

3. The Pelhams.

At the end of 1744 Carteret (who had just become Earl Granville) was driven out of office by the opposition clamours that he was following a 'Hanoverian' policy. The heads of the new ministry (which is known as the broad-bottomed administration, because it included nearly all the Whig sections) were Henry Pelham and his brother the duke of Newcastle. In 1745 the British, under the command of the king's second son, William duke of Cumberland, a young man of twenty-five, were fighting the French under a brilliant general, Marshal Saxe. Then was fought the famous battle of Fontenoy, when once more, as at Dettingen, sheer stubborn valour alone saved the British from destruction, though this time they had to retreat and the French held the field when the battle was over. The French were gradually mastering the Netherlands, when at the end of the year the British troops, and Cumberland, were called back to England to deal with the Jacobite rising.

Fontenoy, 1745.

The war however had already lost its original meaning. For Charles Albert, the Emperor Charles VII., was dead, and his young son, the new Elector of Bavaria, gave up all his claims. Francis of Lorraine became emperor; Austria ceded the whole of Silesia to Frederick. In 1746 Marshal Saxe was still gaining ground in the Netherlands; but a new king in Spain, Ferdi-

Varying fortunes, 1746-7.

nand, who disliked the policy of conquest, withdrew Spain from the war. France was left almost alone. In Great Britain the Jacobite rising was crushed; on the seas, British fleets were beginning to act with the vigour which hitherto had been lacking. In America a force of British ships and colonial troops had captured the great French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton, commanding the approach to the St. Lawrence river, though in India the French had taken Madras from the English. In 1747 matters continued to go on the whole favourably for the British, and unfavourably for the French. Every one else was exhausted. And so in 1748 was patched up the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Frederick II. kept his grip of Silesia, and Maria Theresa also had to give the Italian duchies, Parma and Piacenza, to a younger brother of the king of Spain. Otherwise she remained in possession of the Hapsburg dominions. But it was quite certain that she would not remain content, that she would try to get Silesia back, and that she would destroy Frederick if she could. Bavaria gained nothing. France gained nothing; Britain gained nothing; because both Powers restored whatever conquests they had made in Europe, India, or America. Only every one knew now that a duel between them for dominion in the East and in the West would have to be fought out before long. Nothing at all was said or done about the first cause of strife, the quarrel between Spain and Britain over the right of search. But in two respects Britain had improved her position. The war had strained her resources much less than those of France; and, as we shall now see, she had been finally freed from all serious fear of a Jacobite revolution.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.

II. The First War: (ii) Scotland and India, 1744-1748.

The 'Forty-five'—The End of Jacobitism—India.

We must turn back now to the two episodes in the war to which only a passing reference has been made—the ending of Jacobitism as a thing which statesmen had to take into account, and the unpromising beginning of the struggle between British and French in India.

1. Jacobitism, 1715-44.

From 1716 to 1739 the chance of a Jacobite reaction had faded year by year in England. Violent upheavals would disturb the trade by which the country was growing more and more wealthy; the large number of people who had invested their savings, small or large, in the

loans to the Government which were called the National Debt, were afraid that if James were restored he would repudiate the debts incurred by the 'usurping' Governments; even the sentiment of loyalty was damped by the depressing character of the 'King over the Water'; France at least during those years would give no help either in men or money. In Scotland, on the other hand, there was much more inclination to the Jacobite cause. Many of the Highland chiefs and their clansmen still clung like James himself to the Roman Catholic religion; sentiment sways the Celt more than the Englishman; in the Lowlands as well as the Highlands the Union was still unpopular and men believed that a Stewart restoration would restore also the old 'independence' of Scotland. But in Scotland as well as in England even the most sincere Jacobites were convinced that a restoration could not be brought about without men and money from France. Though they remained stubbornly loyal to the old dynasty, they would have nothing to do with a rising till they could see some hope that it might be successful.

Reviving hopes, 1744.

But, as Walpole had always feared, hopes began to rise when Great Britain and France were both drawn into a European war—on opposite sides. The aid from France might be forthcoming; the mismanagement of the war might stir popular feeling against Hanoverian rule; and Charles Edward, 'Bonnie Prince Charlie,' the Prince of Wales in the Jacobite view, was a young man with all the old Stewart fascination, and with a fervent faith in the cause. Then in 1744, when war was at last openly declared between Great Britain and France, a French expedition was actually planned. It came to nothing because the fleet in which it put to sea was dispersed by storms; and the French dropped the whole scheme.

Not so the prince. He would not abandon the hopes which had risen so high. In spite of warnings he resolved to stake all on the Great Adventure. Running the gauntlet of the British navy in a small vessel, he succeeded in reaching Moidart on the west coast of Scotland with seven comrades, the 'seven men of Moidart,' on 25th July 1745.

The 'Forty-five.'

He was in friendly country; but even his friends made haste to warn him that insurrection was mere midsummer madness. But when he would not give way, declaring that if those whom he had trusted left him he would go on alone, they refused to desert him. The young prince inspired the clansmen with his own enthusiasm. On 19th August the Royal Standard was raised at Glenfinnan.

The Government was taken by surprise. The troops in Scotland under Sir John Cope marched north, to cut off the insurgents from the northern clans; whereupon they swooped first on Perth, where Charles proclaimed his father 'King James VIII.' (of Scotland), and then upon Edinburgh. The city gates were captured by stratagem, and the Highlanders occupied the capital. Cope came back from the north by sea to Dunbar and encamped close to Edinburgh at Prestonpans. On 21st September at early dawn the Highlanders, having crossed a marsh, emerged through a heavy mist, fell upon Cope's troops, and in ten minutes scattered them in headlong flight. Six weeks later the prince was leading his Highland army into England.

2. The invasion of England.

THERE the Government troops were by this time moving, under the old General Wade to whom the English Jacobites had surrendered at Preston in 1715. But Wade mistook the prince's line of march and went in the wrong direction. The Jacobites captured Carlisle with ease, and continued their advance southward till they reached Derby on 4th December. The critical moment had come. The prince had some 5000 men. The Jacobites in England had sat still. Wade was moving now in pursuit. Cumberland, back from the Netherlands, was bringing up a fresh army to the attack, from the south. A third force was encamped at Finchley to cover London; each one of the three was much larger than the army of the 'White Cockade.' But London itself was in a state of panic; the royal household was packing its jewels to be ready for hasty flight. If Charles could either rout Cumberland or slip past him, Finchley might be another Prestonpans. Of course it was 'impossible'—but the victory at Dettingen had been 'impossible'—yet it had been won. In short—is anything impossible? Here was on one side the bare chance however remote of an unparalleled triumph, on the other the overwhelming probability of annihilation, if the army marched on London. But if it did not march on London, the game was up, the Cause lost.

Charles would have taken all risks and gone on. The voice of every experienced soldier was against him. The army turned its back on Derby and began the retreat. Before Christmas it was over the Scottish border again. It was still undefeated. In January (1746) it defeated the large advanced force of the Government troops under General Hawley at Falkirk. But the end was near. It retreated into the Highlands. Cumberland, now in unfettered command of the Government forces, was planning his spring campaign. The

The retreat.

Highlanders were disheartened; their provisions ran short; Cumberland, advancing by the east coast, was well supplied by an accompanying fleet. The decisive battle was fought on Culloden Moor (17th April 1746) between the clansmen half-starved and exhausted and Cumberland's troops in excellent condition. The Highlanders' charge broke through the first line, but they were mown down by the musketry fire of the second line. The field was covered with the slain. A few, including the prince, escaped. But no rally was possible.

Culloden, 1746.

The mercilessly brutal use that Cumberland made of his victory earned for him the name of 'the Butcher.' All power of armed resistance was destroyed. For months 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' and some of the chiefs were in hiding in glens and islands, fugitives with a price on their heads—the prince himself owing his safety largely to the heroism of a noble lady, Flora Macdonald, but chiefly to the unswerving loyalty of the clansmen, whom neither threats nor money could tempt to betray him, till at last he succeeded in getting on board ship and escaping to France.

The chiefs who were captured were punished as traitors. The Government broke up the clan-system by abolishing the old 'hereditary jurisdictions,' so doing away with the legal powers which the chiefs had enjoyed. The wearing of the clan tartans was forbidden. Never again was there the faintest chance of a Stewart restoration. The arm of the law had become for the first time irresistible in the Scottish Highlands. When the unsettling Jacobite dream was dispersed, Scotland settled down to make the most of the practical advantages offered by the Union. Much was done to heal the bitter memories of the 'Forty-five' when, some years later, the Government ventured to raise Highland regiments even from the disaffected districts; and Highlanders, fighting shoulder to shoulder with Englishmen and Lowlanders, took their own splendid share in winning the battles of the British Empire. The final collapse of the Stewart cause in 1746 at last created a united British nation, without destroying the sense of separate English and Scottish nationality; while it left a lasting halo of poetry and romance clinging to those who, in the face of overwhelming odds, suffered and fought and fell for an ideal, the heroes of the 'White Cockade.'

Union.

It remains to tell how, while the War of the Austrian Succession was going on in Europe, the duel between British and French began upon Indian soil; at the moment when the decaying power of the once mighty Moguls had suffered a fatal blow at the hands of Nadir Shah the Persian.

3. India.

In 1740 the Mogul still reigned at Delhi, the nominal sovereign of all India; but he ruled no one. On the Ganges were the two great provinces of Oudh, and Bengal with Behar (between Oudh and Bengal properly so-called), each under a really independent governor or viceroy called the Nawab. Central India was broken up into minor provinces under many Rajas, nobles of the Mogul empire. Southern India was under the sway of the greatest of the viceroys, the Nizam of Haidarabad, really the greatest prince in India; one province of his dominions, the Carnatic —within which lay the British and French factories of Madras and Pondicherry—was under a Nawab who was the Nizam's lieutenant-governor, appointed by him; and there were also in the Deccan other subject-kingdoms, such as Mysore and Tanjore. And on the west of the Deccan and Central India, the Maratha Confederacy had set up under five chiefs a dominion stretching from the southern coastal districts up to the river Jumna on which Delhi and Agra stand. At first we shall be concerned only with the Nawab of the Carnatic, and then with the Nizam and the Marathas, before Bengal begins to play a part in the story.

The Mogul Empire, 1740.

At each of the European 'factories' there is a little colony of British or French, servants of the Companies, managers and clerks or 'writers,' numbering at the most some hundreds, with a 'Governor' at the head. They have authority, both from home and from the native prince, to rule by their own laws over themselves and to deal in their own courts (something like the corporations of boroughs in England) with legal questions which concern them. Their quarters are fortified, otherwise they would not be safe; for the same reason, there is a handful of white soldiers—not regiments of the regular army, but companies which they have been allowed to recruit in their own service—generally commanded by some one who has been an officer in the regular army. But there is nothing in India which can be called either a British or a French army, and only the chance that the Company may persuade the home Government to give it the aid of the king's troops or the royal navy.

The two Companies.

Now in 1740 the French governor at Pondicherry was François Dupleix. He saw that the Mogul empire was falling to pieces, that the Europeans in India would soon have to deal not with an organised empire as in the past, but with a number of princes among whom there would be constant wars and rivalries in which the Europeans would be able to exercise great influence, and

Dupleix.

that the French would have that influence all to themselves if they could get rid of their British rivals. The chance for doing that would come, if he made ready to attack the British in India so soon as France and England declared war on each other in Europe. With that object in view, he first sought the favour of the governor in whose province lay Pondicherry and the rival town of Madras, the Nawab of the Carnatic; and he went on to lay his plans with the French governor of the islands now called the Mauritius, lying between India and Africa, where French ships of war were stationed. On the coast of the Carnatic there was no proper harbourage where ships could lie when the gales called the monsoon were blowing, as they always do at certain seasons of the year

Dupleix's successes, 1746-8.

Dupleix's plans succeeded—up to a certain point. War was declared at home in 1744; the authorities at home were not troubling their minds about India; the Nawab Anwar ud-din would not interfere with him. In 1746 Admiral Labourdonnais arrived with a squadron from Mauritius, attacked Madras from the sea, and forced the British to surrender. The French occupied Madras.

Then came trouble, for which Dupleix was ready. The Nawab had let him take Madras from the British but did not intend him to keep it. He ordered Dupleix to give it up to him. Dupleix refused. Anwar ud-din sent an army of 10,000 men to suppress the insolent Frenchman. But Dupleix had taken a lesson from the Portuguese in the old days. He had recruited and drilled some hundreds of natives under French officers. The small band surprised and routed the Nawab's army, which was twelve times as large. The fame of the exploit spread abroad, giving the French a tremendous reputation among the natives. The Nawab, who had trouble enough in maintaining his own power over his province, did not renew the attempt to suppress Dupleix. In 1747 the French attacked another English post at Fort St. David, but were beaten off. Labourdonnais had quarrelled with Dupleix and departed with his squadron. In 1748 a British squadron arrived and besieged Pondicherry; but the attack failed, and the coming of the monsoon compelled the admiral, Boscawen, to withdraw to safer waters. It seemed that Dupleix's victory was all but complete; but at this precise moment the Powers in Europe made peace; the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle required French and British to restore the conquests each had made; and while Louisbourg on Cape Breton in North America was given back to the French, in India they had to give Madras back to the British.

Peace, 1748.

III. Between the Wars: 1748-1756.

India—America—Drifting England.

For eight years after Aix-la-Chapelle, from 1748 to 1756, there was an uneasy peace in Europe; but while Maria Theresa and her very able minister Kaunitz were shaping their schemes for the overthrow of Frederick of Prussia, the British and French Companies in India and the British and French colonists in North America continued to carry on hostilities on their own account, without directly involving the home Governments. 1. India.

Dupleix saw his ambitions thwarted by the restoration of Madras to the British, just when he imagined that he had won the game. He still meant to win it; but he could not make war on the British when France and Britain were at peace. On the other hand, his successes had taught the natives to believe that the French were immensely superior to the British in the arts both of diplomacy and of war. He changed his plans to suit the circumstances. He would gain such an influence over the native princes in the Deccan that the British would cease to count. He would take a hand in native politics—and to begin with, he would turn Anwar ud-din out of the Carnatic (or Arcot) Nawabship, and put in his place a rival, Chanda Sahib, the son of a former Nawab. Chanda Sahib was a prisoner in the hands of the Marathas when Anwar ud-din was appointed; he had many partisans, but till he was released, nothing could be done. Dupleix set him free by paying the Marathas the ransom they demanded. Dupleix's new scheme.

Then the old Nizam at Haidarabad died. A son, Nasir Jang, who was on the spot, proclaimed himself Nizam, but a grandson, Muzaffar Jang, procured his own appointment by the Mogul. Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang agreed to help each other against Anwar ud-din and Nasir Jang. Dupleix gave them his support. Aided by Dupleix, they attacked Anwar ud-din, who was killed in battle (1749); but his son Mohammed Ali escaped south to Trichinopoli, where he proclaimed himself Nawab; while Nasir Jang marched from Haidarabad to crush the rebels. Rival Nizams and Nawabs.

The fate of the British would be sealed if they stood neutral; they declared in favour of Nasir Jang and Mohammed Ali. Whether their interference would make any difference was another question. At first it seemed that it would not. Nasir Jang on one side and Muzaffar Jang on the other were assassinated, but Dupleix and Chanda Sahib had no difficulty in securing the Nizamship for their new candidate Salabat

Jang—they had always declared that they were in arms to support the Mogul's authority. There was no one to resist them except Mohammed Ali, who was soon shut up in Trichinopoli, and the British, who had sent such troops as they had to support him.

But the British turned the tables in 1751. Young Robert Clive, a clerk or 'writer,' who had obtained a commission in the Company's 'army' during the war, had a plan. There were some Englishmen who could bear arms, in Madras; and some *sepoys*, native soldiers whom they had drilled, following the example set by Dupleix. With this company, five hundred men all told, Clive, with the approval of the governor, Saunders, marched against Arcot, the capital city of the Carnatic.

Robert Clive, 1751.

No one had dreamt of such an audacious move; Chanda Sahib's armies, with the French (except those who had gone back to Haidarabad with Salabat Jang), were besieging Mohammed Ali at Trichinopoli. When Clive reached Arcot, the garrison fled. He occupied the fortifications with his five hundred: Chanda Sahib detached a great force from Trichinopoli, 10,000 men, to recover Arcot, but Clive held out stubbornly for seven weeks. Then the besiegers attempted to storm the fort in force; Clive not only repulsed them, but sallied out after the retreating foe, fell upon them at Arni, and put them to utter rout. The achievement won for the British all the credit for skill and valour which hitherto the natives had given to the French.

Then the British commander at Fort St. David, Major Stringer Lawrence, an experienced soldier, joined hands with Clive and they marched to the relief of Trichinopoli. By their combined skill, the main force investing Trichinopoli was forced to surrender; Chanda Sahib was killed; and Mohammed Ali, the British candidate, was undisputed Nawab of the Carnatic, though Salabat Jang, the French candidate, was Nizam at Haidarabad (1752). Two years later Dupleix was recalled to France—the fighting stopped when the Nizam and the Nawab were established on their thrones; and it seemed that the old balance between French and British in India was restored, though on a new footing, for each was now in supreme control at the court of one or other of the two chief princes in the Deccan. There could be no doubt that the contest would soon be renewed, that the home governments would be forced to realise the importance of the issue and to give the rival Companies active support in India, and that whichever Power had the mastery of the Indian Ocean could make sure of winning the duel on the Indian mainland.

A drawn game, 1754.

In North America too the Anglo-French rivalry was becoming very acute during this period. Looking at the map of North America at the end of this volume, it is easy to see why. Since 1713 the British had been in full possession of the eastern territory, as far inland as the Alleghany range, from New Brunswick, then called Acadia, to the border of Florida. The French were in occupation of the whole basin of the St. Lawrence—Canada—including the Great Lakes. They also had a colony, New Orleans, in the south on the Mexican Gulf at the mouth of the Mississippi; and having explored that mighty river and its tributary the Ohio, they laid claim also to those river basins, and to the whole continent west of them called Louisiana. But they had not colonised it. If their claim was allowed, the British colonies would be cut off from all expansion westwards, though they themselves made the opposition claim that all the territory westward was theirs, though, like the French, they had not occupied it. Some day those rival claims would have to be fought out. But the active trouble arose when French expeditions began planting forts in the disputed region. By way of reply, an expedition was sent from Virginia under young George Washington (of whom we shall hear more later) to plant a fort on the Ohio in 1753. The French, in superior force, turned them out, and took possession of the fort which they named Fort Duquesne. Even then the several British colonies could not agree to form a federal union and act together—as was proposed by Benjamin Franklin of whom also we shall hear again. In 1755, however, in reply to an appeal for military aid against French aggression by the Governor of Virginia, the British Government at home sent out two regiments under General Braddock, who marched upon Fort Duquesne but was ambushed by the French and their Red Indian allies; and the whole force was cut to pieces. Thus in America as well as in India it was clear that a duel was at hand—in which the victory would be decided by sea-power if it were properly handled, as it had not been in the last war.

2. In America.

Fort Duquesne.

In the meantime the Governments of both Great Britain and France had been drifting, while Prussia on one hand and Austria on the other had been preparing for the next war—Frederick by organising the resources, and especially the army, of his comparatively small kingdom, girdled as it was by foes; Austria by drawing into alliance with her every State which was jealous of, or bore a grudge against, Prussia or her king. Austria's old enemy, France, swallowed

3. Europe.

the bait; Britain and Spain were both neglected, since the latter, under her pacific king Ferdinand, was not to be seduced into adventures by which nothing could be gained and much might be lost.

Britain drifted, because her policy was directed by no one who could be called a statesman. For six years the head of her government was still Henry Pelham, secure in office partly through his skill in holding together men who would have quarrelled violently under any other chief, partly through the quite shameless system of bribery and jobbery of which his brother Newcastle was a past-master. The same system made Newcastle himself the head of the government when Henry Pelham died, since no government could command votes in parliament without his support, though he was utterly incapable of forming or directing a policy.

Henry Pelham.

Henry Pelham however was far from being wholly incompetent. In finance he was a not unworthy pupil of Walpole, whom he also followed in the principles of 'letting sleeping dogs lie' and of neglecting the army and navy as a cheap form of economy. But whereas Walpole had driven into opposition every man of marked ability, Pelham always sought to bring together under his own leadership all the men who, if they were excluded from office, might become dangerous critics of the ministry—while they held office themselves they were at any rate in some degree bridled. Most notable among them was William Pitt who, having no connection with the great Whig families, had made himself feared when in opposition by his own fearlessness, his brilliant oratory, his manifest talents, and his complete incorruptibility and hatred of corruption, bribery, jobbery, and everything of the kind. But Pitt himself was only a subordinate in Pelham's ministry, into which he had been brought very much against the will of George II., who particularly disliked him as one who when in opposition had been vehement in denouncing 'Hanoverian' measures.

Pitt.

There is therefore little that needs to be recorded of this period, when the main policy of the ministry was to leave everything alone that could be left alone. The various portions of the National Debt —which now amounted to fifty millions—were 'consolidated' into a single fund, known ever since as 'consols.' But the most memorable event of the time was the Reform of the Calendar in 1752. Officially, the year had hitherto begun on 25th March, the 'Feast of the Annunciation' commonly called Lady Day, though popular usage had for long dated it from 1st January. Thus the day of

The Calendar.

Charles I.'s execution, 29th January, was officially in January at the end of 1648 (O.S., or Old Style), but popularly in January at the beginning of 1649 (N.S., or New Style). From this time the New Style was officially adopted, and the official year began on 1st January, New Year's Day. But there was a farther change. For sixteen centuries from the time of Julius Caesar (about 50 B.C.) the year had been reckoned as 365¼ days: so three years had been counted as 365 days each, and the fourth, leap year, as 366. But at the end of the sixteenth century Pope Gregory had discovered that there was an error of some minutes in the year. To correct this, the Roman Catholic countries had skipped some days, so that by this reckoning, which was correct, 13th September—in 1752—fell on the day which in England would be called 2nd September. On that day England adopted the 'Gregorian' Calendar, and like most other countries except Russia called it 13th September, thus putting an end to the old confusion of dates. But the odd thing at the time was that an immense number of ignorant people really imagined that somehow they had been tricked out of the eleven days from 2nd September to 13th September, and clamoured that the government should 'give them back the eleven days' of which they had been robbed!

Britain drifted under Henry Pelham; when he died in 1754 it drifted still more aimlessly under Newcastle. Pitt, indignant and disgusted, left the ministry and denounced it vehemently; but the duke's purchased majority remained unbroken. Through 1755 the Austrian Kaunitz was drawing his webs of intrigue closer. He captured Russia, because the Tsarina Elizabeth, who had stood neutral in the last war, was incensed against Frederick for making sarcastic comments on her character. He captured Louis XV., through the influence of the king's favourite Madame de Pompadour, who had a similar cause of resentment against Frederick. He was already sure of Saxony, which was both afraid and jealous of Prussia. Frederick, seeing that Louis had fallen into the toils of Kaunitz, sought the alliance of Britain and Hanover; with little confidence, but expecting that they would at least check a French attack. Newcastle, only half understanding what he was doing, made the treaty of Westminster with Frederick, in January 1756. Before another five months had passed, drifting England had drifted into war.

Newcastle, 1754.

SUMMARIES

Acts of Parliament and Treaties: 1739-1756.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, or Aachen, 1748, concluded the War of the Austrian Succession. With the exception of Silesia, retained by Prussia, all conquests were restored, Britain receiving Madras from the French but giving back Louisbourg. No mention was made of the right of search claimed by Spain.

Reform of the Calendar, 1752. An Act adopting the 'Gregorian' in place of the Julian Calendar, which came into force on the day after 1st September according to the old reckoning, so that it was called 13th September instead of 2nd September, eleven days being dropped. Thenceforth the century-year was not to be reckoned as hitherto a leap-year: and the official year began on 1st January instead of on Lady Day, 25th March.

Hardwicke's Marriage Act, 1753, reformed the marriage laws, abolishing in England the exceptions to the rule which made it illegal to perform the marriage ceremony till banns had been read or a licence obtained.

Treaty of Westminster, 1756. Great Britain, Prussia, and Hanover mutually pledged themselves to preserve each other's territories against aggressors.

Chronology: 1739-1756.

1739. Capture of Porto Bello.
1740. *Death of Charles VI. Maria Theresa his heiress.*
Frederick II. invades Silesia, beginning the War of the Austrian Succession.
1742. Carteret, Prime Minister.
1743. Battle of Dettingen.
1744. War declared between France and Great Britain.
Henry Pelham, Prime Minister: to 1754.
1745. Battle of Fontenoy.
Jacobite Rising.
1746. Culloden.
Dupleix captures Madras.
1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1751. Clive at Arcot.
1752. Reform of the Calendar.
1754. Newcastle, Prime Minister.
Dupleix recalled from India.
1755. Braddock's disaster (America).
1756. Treaty of Westminster (Britain and Prussia).
May: Seven Years' War begins.

CHAPTER III

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1756-1763

I. In the Balance: 1756-1758.

The Conflict opens: 1756—A Critical Year: 1757—Balance, 1758.

THE story of the great Seven Years' War is a little difficult to follow, because it was going on in Europe, in America, in India, and at sea all at the same time: and what was going on in each of the three continents was being constantly affected by what was happening at sea.

1. The Powers in 1756.

At the beginning of 1756 Austria had not quite completed her series of alliances, and no one openly professed the intention of attacking Prussia. In France there was what might be called a Colonial and Naval party which would have liked a straight fight with England, without troubling itself about Europe. Austria meant to bide her time and, having no quarrel of her own with England, to have everything ready for all the allies to assault Prussia at once, before she moved. She was not yet sure that France or Russia would go much beyond a benevolent neutrality. Frederick knew only that he would have to fight for life, and was watching to see how, single-handed, he could best ward off his enemies. The British Government did not know its own mind, and had no plans—only it was becoming aware that great preparations were going on in France, and was much inclined to expect an invasion.

France then had not fully made up her mind about Prussia, but she was certainly going to fight the British; Austria was not ready to attack Prussia; so France went forward with her own plans without waiting for Austria.

The great French naval station in the Mediterranean was at Toulon; that of the British was at Port Mahon in Minorca, besides Gibraltar at the entrance. The British Government, chiefly anxious about a direct invasion, still sent a naval squadron under Admiral Byng to deal with the Toulon fleet if it should come out. There had been no declaration of war, but the fleet had already sailed before

Minorca (May).

Byng arrived in May. He came upon it on its way to Minorca; his van engaged its rear; but though in ships and guns the squadrons were equally matched, he decided not to risk a defeat which would have left the French masters of the Mediterranean, and drew off to cover Gibraltar which was ill-defended. The consequence was that a month later Port Mahon surrendered. Public and popular indignation were vented on the unfortunate admiral, whose error of judgment—though he was personally as brave as any one—made him liable to the death penalty. He was court-martialled; the court could not as the law stood avoid condemning him to death, but unanimously appealed to the Crown against its own sentence. But the populace clamoured for the admiral's blood; Pitt was almost the only man outside the navy who dared openly to support the appeal; and Byng was shot on his own quarter-deck.

By that time the war had been going on for eight months. Montcalm from Canada had captured two British frontier forts; the Newcastle ministry had fallen; a new one had been formed under the duke of Devonshire, of which Pitt was again a member, and the country had begun to look to him as the one man who could save it. Matters were looking very black; but the energy of the French had been checked; for Frederick, instead of awaiting the Austrian attack, had himself struck the first blow by marching into Saxony in August as sixteen years before, he had marched into Silesia. Through Saxony he meant to fling himself on Bohemia before the Austrian armies were ready for him. But the Saxons put up an unexpectedly stubborn resistance. Till Saxony was subdued, Frederick could not advance; and though before the end of the year she had been forced to submission, and the Elector had retired to his kingdom of Poland, the surprise dash upon Austria had failed. The Austrian armies were gathering; so were those of Russia; Sweden was threatening from the north; and the French military party, now in the ascendant, was thinking not of the war on the sea and oversea, but of the great part they wished to play in the European struggle.

Frederick strikes (August).

Still matters in 1757 continued to go ill. Frederick having secured Saxony swooped upon Prague, won a brilliant victory, but was held at bay by the city. A second Austrian force, larger than Frederick's, marched to its relief; in a great battle at Kölin, Frederick was so badly defeated that he almost despaired—and was only able to retreat into Saxony with his shattered forces because the cautious Austrian would not follow up his victory.

2. A bad year, 1757.

Meanwhile the Devonshire ministry was hardly improving upon that of Newcastle; Pitt was not its master, and Newcastle, though he had proved his own unfitness to control policy, could command enough influence in parliament to prevent any one else from doing so. French armies were massing for an attack upon Hanover. Cumberland was sent to take command of the Hanoverian and other North German forces which had sided with Frederick, but insisted that if he went, Pitt—whom he disliked personally—must be dismissed. Pitt and his supporters were turned out of the ministry; but within a few weeks it had become perfectly clear that no government could conduct the war without him and none could carry on with Newcastle in opposition. At the end of June, Pitt and Newcastle came to terms. Newcastle would leave the war to Pitt, if he had a free hand himself for the jobbery and corruption which made up his idea of statesmanship. In July a little more than a year after the war began, Pitt became the real head of the ministry.

Pitt takes control (July).

Still the tale of disaster was not finished. French reinforcements reached the St. Lawrence, while a British squadron was scattered by a hurricane. Montcalm captured two more British forts. The French were massing two armies on the Rhine, to attack Prussia, one through Hanover, the other from the south-west. The northern army outmanœuvred Cumberland, defeated him at Hastenbeck, and forced him to agree to a 'convention' at Klosterseven in September, which would have put the Hanoverian troops out of action for the rest of the war. But a 'convention,' unlike a 'capitulation,' is not binding till approved by the governments concerned as well as by the generals, a point which both Cumberland and the Frenchman d'Estrées overlooked. England was furious; so was King George, who considered that his son had disgraced him. The convention was rejected, and the unpopular Cumberland was recalled, to take no more active part in public affairs. Pitt alone, though he had reason enough to resent the duke's treatment of him, took his part, and Pitt too was largely responsible for the selection of the very able commander, Ferdinand of Brunswick, who took Cumberland's place at the head of the army guarding Hanover and Prussia on the west.

French successes.

Before the year was out, however, Frederick had redeemed the situation. Though the Russians were moving on the east, the slow Austrians made no advance on the south after their victory at Kölin. On the other hand the second and main French army under Soubise was threatening on the south-west. Frederick

Recovery.

had reorganised his defeated army as soon as he recovered from the first shock of Kölin; it was smaller than that of any one of his three great adversaries; he could not split it up to face them all. But he lay at the centre of a circle holding the 'interior lines'; he could strike at any given point on the circle much more quickly than his enemies, spread round, could mass there. His one chance was to deliver a smashing blow at one, and put him out of action before the others drew in upon him. Soubise alone was immediately dangerous; he could not be left, therefore he must be fought and beaten. But Soubise meant to take no risks: for long he was not to be tempted out of the strong positions he held. Only just in time, a movement of Frederick's enticed him forward; Frederick seized his opportunity, and on 5th November broke up the French army at the brilliant victory of Rossbach.

Rossbach (November).

Nor was this all. The Austrians were already rolling over Silesia, capturing fortress after fortress. If Soubise could have held Frederick a few weeks longer, they would have been in Brandenburg, advancing on Berlin; Frederick would have had either to fight Soubise on his own terms at a terrific risk, or race off to meet the Austrians with Soubise hanging on his rear, and forcing him to fight perpetual rear-guard actions. But Soubise was off the board, no longer a danger; Frederick, with troops ready now to dare and do anything, flung himself across Saxony, joined the forces which were being slowly forced out of Silesia, and—exactly a month after Rossbach—won over the great Austrian army an even more brilliant victory at Leuthen. Happily for him, the Russians instead of advancing had fallen back; for his enemy the Tsarina Elizabeth was ill and supposed to be dying and the Russian generals knew that her successor would reverse her policy, being an enthusiastic admirer of Frederick and by no means friendly to Austria.

Leuthen (December).

MEANWHILE Pitt's fiery and dauntless spirit was breathing a new life into the British people, who only wanted leadership. They were no longer sheep without a shepherd; the degrading sense of helplessness had departed from them, now that they were in the hands of the man whom all trusted. Moreover, news had come from India of the brilliant deeds of Robert Clive, whereof we shall soon hear the tale, a heartening contrast to the weary records of defeats and failures. So 1758 opened hopefully.

3. 1758, Pitt.

It was a year however not of decisive victories but of high promise. Frederick himself as in 1757 met with varying fortunes. The campaign in Moravia which followed Leuthen achieved little. The Tsarina recovered, the Russians advanced again; Frederick had to leave Moravia to fight them at Zorndorf, where he won only a very hardly earned victory at heavy cost, and then, speeding back to check the renewed Austrian advance, he himself suffered a heavy defeat at Hochkirchen—though, as after Kölin, the Austrians did not follow up their success, and he was able once more to reorganise his dwindling army.

Swaying fortunes.

He was however no longer in serious danger from the French. Ferdinand of Brunswick defeated them at Crefeld, received a strong reinforcement of British troops which now for the first time took an active part in the war on the Continent, and drove them back over the Rhine. This was due in part to the bad generalship of the French, and in part also to the development of Pitt's naval policy. While the French fleets were blockaded in their ports, a series of expeditions made descents on the French coast—twice at St. Malo and once at Cherbourg, in which perhaps they suffered as much damage as they inflicted. But they kept locked up for the defence of the ports masses of troops which otherwise would have reinforced the armies on the Rhine.

In America too Pitt's vigorous plans met with a check. Three attacks were directed upon the French; one upon Louisbourg by land and sea, which succeeded; as did the second upon Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, which was captured and re-christened Pittsburg; but the third column, advancing on the upper St. Lawrence, was disastrously repulsed, owing to bad generalship, at Ticonderoga. The defeat spoilt the whole plan of the campaign which depended upon the concerted action of the three forces. We may note however, first, that Pitt was working out his principle of giving commands to the men in whom he discovered brilliant abilities instead of to senior officers of no particular capacity—James Wolfe at Louisbourg was little over thirty, and Abercromby at Ticonderoga was the last of the 'old school' who held such a command; secondly, that at Louisbourg he employed a joint naval and military force; and thirdly, that the Fort Duquesne column consisted not of regular troops, like Wolfe's and Abercromby's, but of colonials.

America.

II. India: 1756-1758.

Bengal: the Challenge—Bengal: the Mastery.

ONE tremendous achievement had been wrought during these three first years of the war. In India the British, who in 1748 held nothing there except their commercial factories, and enjoyed a reputation very much lower than that of the French, had in 1758 become masters of the richest province in the Mogul empire, a province thrice the size and with double the population of England and Wales. They had not 'conquered India' or 'overthrown a mighty empire'; Bengal is only a corner of the peninsula, and the Mogul, with whom there had been no war, was still its sovereign; but its governor, his lieutenant, the Nawab, ruled by grace of the British and under their orders.

1. India.

In one way this 'conquest of Bengal' was outside the contest between French and British; it was the outcome of a wanton attack on the British at Fort William (or Calcutta) by the young Nawab of Bengal, Suraj ud-Daulah; whereas all the fighting between French and British had hitherto been far away in the south, in what became the Madras Presidency. Still, the Nawab might never have made the attack if there had been no Anglo-French quarrel; and when Bengal had fallen under British control, the possession of it was one of the things that ensured the victory of the British over the French in the south.

The scene shifts.

In 1756 Colonel Clive was on his way back to India, having been home on leave. In the Carnatic the Nawab whom the British had set up was their dependent. At Haidarabad the Nizam whom the French had set up was very much under the control of the French General Bussy. Dupleix had gone, and the rival Companies had agreed not to renew their quarrel in arms. In Bengal there had never been any fighting between the British at Calcutta and the French at Chandernagore, both of whom had been on good terms with the old Nawab. But now there was a young Nawab, Suraj ud-Daulah. He knew little of the outside world; he had an idea that the French were stronger than the British, and that he might make much more out of the British than he did. So when the British, thinking there might be another struggle with the French, set about repairing their defences, he ordered them to stop. They protested; whereupon he marched on Calcutta with an army. Half the British fled. Those who remained

The Black Hole, 1756.

could offer little resistance. They were taken prisoners and herded together in a small chamber with a tiny window, in which they hardly had standing-room. Then the Nawab forgot them till next morning. When the door was opened, only twenty-three out of the one hundred and forty-six were alive; the rest had perished from the awful thirst and the stifling air or want of air in their prison. This was the tragedy which is known as the 'Black Hole of Calcutta.'

This was in July. In August the story reached Madras, where Admiral Watson, bringing Clive, had arrived with a small squadron. Clearly, Suraj ud-Daulah must be made to pay the penalty of his crime. This was not a quarrel between the Companies in time of peace; it was a British quarrel with a native ruler. The admiral was ready to do his share; Clive was obviously the commander for a military expedition. In December Watson and Clive with a small force reached the mouth of the Hugli. In January the Nawab's garrison in Calcutta surrendered to them. In February he sent an army from his capital, Murshidabad, to take it again. When this army met with a check from Clive, the Nawab withdrew it and began to negotiate, promising to restore all the privileges of the British, and to pay compensation.

Clive at Calcutta, 1757.

On these terms a treaty was made; but the news had arrived that France and Britain were at war. Clive learnt that the Nawab was intriguing with the French at Chandernagore, and also with Bussy at Haidarabad. Instead of retiring he attacked Chandernagore in March and captured it. He still however felt that the Nawab would attack Calcutta again as soon as his back was turned.

BUT that half-crazy prince had terrified noblemen and men of wealth in Bengal, by his caprices and cruelty and greed. Some of these men came to Clive, to tell him they were going to carry out a revolution, and to invite his support. He came to terms with them—tricking one of the conspirators, Amin Chand or Omichund (who meant to betray the plot unless some exorbitant demands were satisfied) by showing him a sham agreement, on which Admiral Watson's signature had been forged because he refused to sign it himself. The plan was to dethrone Suraj ud-Daulah and put in his place his general, Mir Jafar.

a. A plot.

Meanwhile Clive had still been negotiating with the Nawab, though quite sure that he intended treachery. Now (in May) he wrote that he could wait no longer and was coming with his troops—to lay his

demands before the *Durbar* (the Court and Council) at Murshidabad. Of course this meant war. Clive, with a little more than a thousand Europeans and twice as many sepoys, followed his letter. At Plassey the Nawab met him with a huge force of 60,000 men—but Mir Jafar had promised to turn against him when the moment came. Still Mir Jafar might fail. Clive took the risk and attacked. Mir Jafar in fact did not move, but he kept the greater part of the Nawab's army out of action. There was indeed hardly a pretence of fighting after the first few minutes. The whole host broke and fled, in such haste that only some hundreds of them and seventy of the victors were slain. Such was the decisive battle of Plassey, fought on 23rd June 1757, the battle which made the British masters of Bengal.

Plassey (June).

For the natives took for granted that Clive was master, though Mir Jafar was duly proclaimed Nawab in place of Suraj ud-Daulah who, fleeing in disguise, was captured and murdered by Mir Jafar's son. It was Clive who had utterly put to rout an army twenty times the size of his own. And Clive was needed, for if Mir Jafar had had his way, there would merely have been a new tyranny under which every one who had been hostile to him and the rest of the conspirators would have been put to death, or at best stripped of everything he possessed, if he was worth stripping. Bengal would have become a welter of bloodshed and pillage. Clive took the situation into his own hands. The new Nawab understood perfectly that he must obey his new master, who had no legal authority, did not choose to claim the vacant throne by right of conquest, but did choose that order should be restored, and justice, so far as it was in his power to secure it. The British had overturned the government, and it lay with them to see that the people of Bengal did not suffer in consequence. Every Briton in Bengal was loyal to the great Chief; when orders came from the Directors in London which were intended to reduce his personal authority the British unanimously put them on one side, and very soon afterwards they were cancelled. Clive remained in Bengal practically as dictator. When the Nawab of the neighbouring province, Oudh, thought he might make something for himself out of the trouble, a rapid march by Clive decided him not to risk a second Plassey. He retired, and Clive's reputation rose higher than ever.

Clive rules Bengal, 1757-1760.

So during 1758 Clive was organising in Bengal not a British government but the government of Mir Jafar under British control. Meanwhile however in the south the French were making their bid to recover the supremacy which Dupleix had once seemed to hold. Before

control in England had passed into Pitt's hands troops under a fine soldier of Irish descent—Lally—had reached Pondicherry. Lally acted with vigour. He captured Fort St. David, and at the end of 1758 was attacking Madras, where however Stringer Lawrence was holding him at bay; and Bussy at Haidarabad had procured from the Nizam the grant of the coast district called the Northern Sarkars, the possession of which was likely to prove of great value in the struggle.

Lally in the south, 1758.

III. Empire: 1759-1763.

Naval Supremacy, 1759—Canada, 1759-60—India, 1759-61—The Last Phase, 1761-63.

The year 1759—'the Wonderful Year' in the annals of the British Empire—was the decisive moment of the war. It is indeed true that in that year Frederick himself suffered the most disastrous of his defeats, at Kunersdorf, at the hands of the Russians, and that his victories in the following years, when he was fighting with his back to the wall, could never have the crushing character of Rossbach or Leuthen. But that year definitely established the ascendency of the British over the French in every quarter—at least if we add to it the first two months of 1760. And it was the triumphs of the British that enabled them to extend to Frederick the financial support without which it would have been impossible for him to maintain the struggle.

1. The tide turns, 1759.

In the first place, it was largely owing to the conduct of the British troops under his command that Ferdinand of Brunswick was able to inflict upon the French army of the Rhine, at Minden, in July, a defeat from which it never recovered—although that defeat would have been still more overwhelming but for the inexplicable inaction of the cavalry commanded by Lord George Sackville.

Minden (July).

In the second place, the year saw two British naval victories which wiped the French navy off the seas. The first came in August. While Admiral Hawke was keeping guard over the fleet at Brest, Boscawen in the Mediterranean was watching Toulon. His ships being in need of repairs, he had to withdraw to Gibraltar—there was no Minorca now. The French came out of Toulon, hoping to slip past him and join the Brest fleet. But they were sighted; Boscawen started in pursuit; half the French took refuge in Cadiz, a

Lagos (August).

neutral port; of the rest, one fought till she was disabled, the others, all but two, were driven ashore by the pursuing British and destroyed at Cape Lagos.

Three months later came Hawke's great victory at Quiberon. While westerly gales were blowing the French were locked in Brest, and Hawke's fleet rode in Torbay. The British public, after its fashion, was clamouring for a great victory—burning Hawke in effigy because he was doing nothing, biding his time. But his time had come. The west wind sank; Conflans, the French admiral, came out of Brest—what his plans may have been is not definitely known. But Hawke came out too—'swooping from the west.' The fleets sighted each other; the wind rose again to a gale; the French ran for Quiberon bay where there is only a narrow channel very rocky and dangerous. After them drove Hawke; his pilot protested. 'You have done your duty in protesting,' said Hawke; 'now obey my orders.' Among the reefs of Quiberon in a raging storm the great fight was fought. Five of the Frenchmen were sunk, four more wrecked in attempting to escape. The rest found their way into different estuaries from which they never again had the chance to come out. The Brest fleet and the Toulon fleet had both ceased to exist, small British squadrons were sufficient to maintain the blockade of French ports, the British navy could despatch fleets whithersoever it would; only daring privateers could slip out from French ports to harass British merchantmen. France was utterly cut off both from Canada and from India, to say nothing of the West Indies; while to British shipping the oceans were an open highway, and British commerce actually increased.

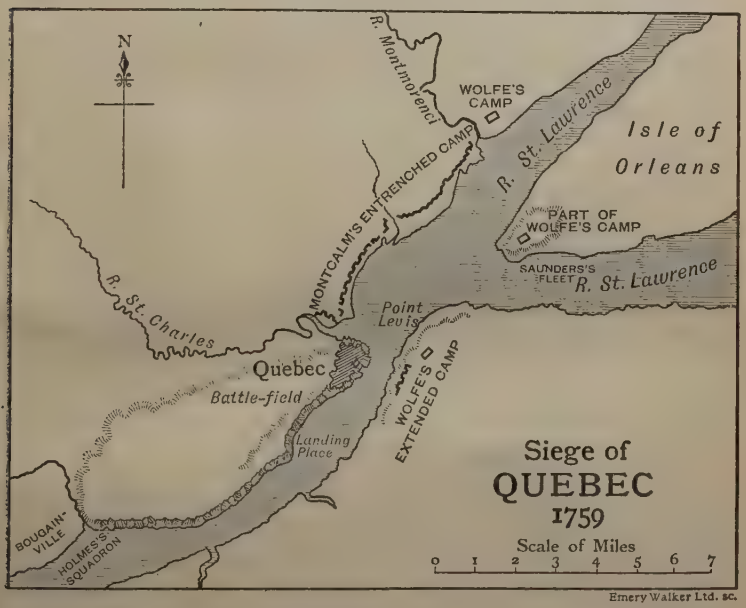
Quiberon (November).

But Quiberon was only the crowning achievement, the wonderful feat of daring seamanship which made complete the British rule of the seas. Before it had been fought and won, the British navy had already been playing an invaluable part both in the West and in the East.

2. The Quebec Campaign.

PERHAPS the event of the year which most excited popular enthusiasm was the capture of Quebec. Pitt had again planned the American campaign for the year as an advance of three columns. A squadron under Admiral Saunders was to carry Wolfe up the St. Lawrence from Louisbourg to Quebec. Amherst, taking Abercromby's place, was to push up in the centre from the south to Montreal; the third column, from Fort Duquesne, would attack on the west by way of the Great Lakes; and then the three would enclose Quebec. The scheme as planned miscarried. Prideaux

on the west captured Niagara; Amherst took Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but the difficulties were great, the advance was slow, and it became clear that there was no chance of those columns reaching Quebec before winter should compel the withdrawal of the squadron by blocking the St. Lawrence with ice. If Quebec was to fall, Wolfe and Saunders must take it by themselves.



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Wolfe before Quebec.

And Quebec was immensely strong. It stood on a plateau, unassailable from the St. Lawrence and flanked on one side by the tributary St. Charles, and the Montmorenci beyond it. Without much larger forces than Wolfe's, it was impossible to invest it on the north, and Montcalm's garrison in arms was bigger than Wolfe's army. The waterway was completely commanded by Saunders's squadron, so that Montcalm could deliver no attack on British encampments on the Isle of Orleans or on the right bank of the St. Lawrence; nor could he prevent Wolfe from landing and entrenching himself on the left bank below the Montmorenci; but his own entrenchments between the St. Charles and the Montmorenci were

so strong that Wolfe, soon after his arrival in June, learnt that no attempts to force them were likely to succeed. And on the west, the French communication with the interior was open, so that plenty of supplies were available.

This was the position which Wolfe had to carry, with the knowledge that if he failed he would have to raise the siege in three months.

Through July and August Wolfe strove in vain. Part of the squadron was moved, under Holmes, above Quebec, and the camp was extended up the right bank, to threaten a landing; but to land on difficult ground in the face of an alert enemy was no easy matter, while the French camp below the St. Charles defied attack. Wolfe was ill; all chance that Amherst might arrive in time disappeared. At the beginning of September Wolfe sent home a despatch which held out no sort of hope. Its arrival in London was delayed; two days later came the news that on the eleventh day after it was written the young general had taken Quebec, but had fallen himself in the very hour of his triumph. He had won Canada for the British Empire.

Victory (September).

Another year indeed elapsed before the mastery of Canada was ensured—before it was certain that what Wolfe had won might not be lost again. But till Quebec was taken the odds were all in favour of the French; after its fall they were all in favour of the British. The victory on the Heights of Abraham was not a complete conquest, but it gave the key of Canada into British hands.

The story of Wolfe's exploit is one of the most familiar in our history. At the last moment he learnt of a path by which the heights might be scaled in the darkness if it were left unwatched and unguarded. Some say he had secret information from a traitor on the other side that on a certain night all would be clear. At any rate, on 12th September, Saunders opened a violent bombardment of the north camp, in order to draw as many of the garrison as possible to its defence. Holmes moved up the river as if at the same time a landing were going to be attempted in that direction, thus drawing away Bougainville's covering force. But in the black midnight the real attacking force—largely Scottish Highlanders who understood crag-climbing—slid silently down stream landed where the path lay, and scaled the cliff. When morning broke they were already forming up on the edge of the plain above. The garrison came out and swept down on them, but were met by a withering fire at thirty-yards range which shattered their ranks: the British charged, and drove them behind their ramparts. Both Montcalm and Wolfe fell, mortally

The Heights of Abraham.

wounded. The Englishman just had time to learn that the rout was complete, and 'died happy.' The Frenchman died next morning. On 17th September 1759 Quebec surrendered.

Just a twelvemonth later the conquest of Canada was completed by Murray, who had been left in charge at Quebec, and Amherst who was in supreme command of the operations. In the spring of 1760 the French laid siege to Quebec, but Murray held out till a British squadron reached the St. Lawrence. French reinforcements could no longer cross the Atlantic. The siege was raised. The three British columns, from Quebec, from the south, and from the west, converged upon Montreal, arrived simultaneously with the accuracy of clockwork, and on 8th September 1760 Montreal surrendered.

Conquest of Canada, 1760.

Meanwhile the French attempt to recover power in India had failed. Early in 1759 the arrival of a British squadron off Madras compelled Lally to raise the siege. Though Clive's position in Bengal —where Mir Jafar was naturally restive—depended on his reputation with the natives and the small force in the Company's service, he took the risk of despatching troops by sea under Colonel Forde to attack Masulipatam, in the Sarkars, which was captured in April. Whereupon the Nizam, making up his mind that the British were the winning side, cancelled the cession of the Sarkars to the French, and ceded them to the British instead.

India: Masulipatam, 1759.

Moreover, the French army in the Carnatic was going to pieces. Lally, though a brilliant soldier, quarrelled with all his officers, and with the natives. Discipline broke down; officers and men were on the verge of mutiny; orders were disobeyed, or purposely neglected. Supplies could not be obtained. What should have come from the Sarkars was in the hands of the British; nothing could come oversea from France. From Bengal Clive sent down to Madras a brilliant young officer, Eyre Coote, to take command of the British operations. In February 1760 Lally and Coote fought the decisive engagement at Wandewash. Both had with them considerable native contingents, which however merely looked on and applauded while the Europeans fought. It is curious to remark that there were present only a little more than 2000 French, and a little less than 2000 British. The victory fell to Coote. The contest had now become hopeless, and though Lally struggled on desperately for nearly twelve months, the fighting was ended by the capture of Pondicherry in January 1761.

Wandewash (February), 1760.

In Bengal itself Clive in 1759 had made the position of the British so secure that he was on his way home to England when Coote was fighting at Wandewash. For the Oudh Nawab had again attacked Bengal and laid siege to Patna, acting in concert with the 'Shahzada,' the Mogul's son and heir, who had rebelled against his father. Clive, acting in the name of Mir Jafar as the Mogul's loyal lieutenant, swooped upon Patna with the remnant of troops left to him by Forde's Masulipatam expedition. At his approach the Oudh Nawab and his army took hasty flight. Thus Clive not only doubled his own reputation and that of the British, but received the official recognition and favour of the nominal sovereign of all India.

Bengal, 1759.

On the sea, in Canada, and in India the British were supreme, so far as French rivalry was concerned. And in Europe the British contingent in the army of Ferdinand of Brunswick had meanwhile increased its reputation in several engagements, while the French had not only been held but had lost ground continuously.

THE war continued throughout 1761 and 1762. On the west of Prussia Ferdinand, supported by the British contingent, kept the French behind the Rhine, while Frederick held at bay the Austrians on the south and the Russians on the east, striking now at one, now at the other. But no blow he struck could ever be more than a check. The Austrians were already in full possession of Saxony. When Frederick's main army was facing them, only small forces were available to delay the advance of the Russians; when he turned to the east, the forces left on the south could only hold the Austrians in play for a short time. Between the two, he could hardly have escaped being crushed—since both of them had large reserves to make good their losses after a defeat, while he had none; but he was saved partly by the slowness of both, and finally by the death of the Tsarina and the accession of Peter II., who reversed her policy and withdrew the Russian attack altogether in 1762, leaving Frederick with only the Austrians to face.

3. Stalemate in Europe.

The British on the other hand held the French already beaten in the struggle for empire overseas. If Pitt had remained in power, Britain would have swept into her own dominion everything that France possessed outside Europe. Even his fall in 1761 could not altogether stay the progress of British conquests; but before his fall he could have enforced terms more crushing than those of the

Pitt resigns, 1761.

peace actually made in 1763, if he had chosen to desert Frederick and leave him to his fate.

Pitt fell because at the end of 1760 George II. died and was succeeded by his grandson George III. The old king had for many years intensely disliked Pitt who had always vigorously denounced the 'Hanoverian' measures of one ministry after another. George had long refused to admit him to office at all—till forced by Pelham in 1746; he had resisted the formation of a ministry in which Pitt was to be the real leader, in 1756; he had joyfully dismissed him in April 1757. But he had then seen that the coalition of Pitt and Newcastle gave the only hope of a working government; he had accepted the necessity; and from the moment when Pitt entered on his new office as controller of the war, George and the great minister had been absolutely loyal to each other. All the king's influence had been exerted to support Pitt.

Death of George II., 1760.

The new king, however, was a young man of two-and-twenty, conscientious but narrow-minded, always sure that he was right, unable to see any point of view except his own, and intensely obstinate. His father had long been dead; he had been brought up by a mother from whom he had inherited most of his virtues and vices, who had trained him in the determination to 'be a King'—not a figurehead controlled by ministers. The risk of a Jacobite restoration, which had curbed George I. and George II., no longer existed. All his own confidence was given to his mother's favourite, his own tutor, the eminently respectable and cultured earl of Bute, whose political intelligence was unfortunately contemptible.

George III.

Now what George saw was that the government was in the hands of a group of powerful Whig families headed by Newcastle, and of one man who was idolised by the country. He meant to take the control away from them and to get it into his own hands. From the moment that he became king, at the end of 1760, he set himself to break their power. And to help him he had the feeling of jealousy inspired in smaller men by Pitt's real greatness and by his dictatorial manner, and also the genuine alarm which was beginning to be aroused by the huge sums which he demanded for expenditure on the war and on subsidies for Frederick.

So Bute became a minister, and Pitt soon began to find criticism and opposition among his colleagues, who were preparing to urge a peace. France was making proposals, but at the same time, as Pitt felt convinced, was really seeking time to induce Spain to join her: for the pacific King Ferdinand was dead, and had

Spain enters, 1761.

been succeeded by his younger brother Charles III., who had resigned the Sicilian throne for that of Spain. Pitt was so sure, that he proposed to declare war on Spain. That was more than the ministry would support, and Pitt resigned. Newcastle remained for a time, but it was now really Bute who directed the Government's policy; though Pitt's foresight was almost immediately proved when Spain declared war.

Neither France nor Spain gained anything. As Spain had chosen to ask for war, she got it. During 1762, British fleets were capturing French and Spanish islands, finishing up with Havana in the West Indies and Manilla in the Philippines. But there was no time to complete the business; George and Bute were too anxious to be quit of the war on any terms which would not excite too much indignation in the country. In February 1763 Great Britain made her own separate peace—before the news of the capture of Manilla had arrived—by the treaty of Paris, and soon afterwards Frederick and Maria Theresa came to terms in the treaty of Hubertsburg. The Seven Years' War was over.

Peace, 1763.

SUMMARIES

Treaty of Paris, 1763,

Between Britain and the enemy Powers; supplemented by the Treaty of Hubertsburg between Prussia and the enemy Powers.

BRITAIN recovered from France Minorca in exchange for Belle-Isle, each of which had been captured during the war. In America, France ceded Canada. In India, France retained only her trading factories. Four of the seven West India islands captured by Britain were retained by her; the other three were restored to France. The British conquest of the Philippine Islands was restored to Spain; also Havana, in exchange for which she ceded Florida, receiving Louisiana from France as compensation. Prussia retained her territories intact, as they had been before the war began.

Chronology: 1756-1763.

1756. *May.* Byng's failure at Minorca.
June. Black Hole of Calcutta.
Nov. *Frederick II. invades Saxony.*
1757. *June.* *Frederick defeated at Kölin.*
,, Clive's victory at Plassey.
1757. *June.* Coalition of Pitt and Newcastle.
Sept. Convention of Klosterseven.
Nov. *Frederick's victory at Rossbach.*
1759. *July.* Battle of Minden.
Aug. Boscawen at Lagos.
Sept. Capture of Quebec.
Nov. Hawke at Quiberon.
1760. *Sept.* Capture of Montreal.
Nov. Accession of GEORGE III. (1760-1820).
Feb. Battle of Wandewash.
1761. *Jan.* Fall of Pondicherry.
Oct. Pitt resigns.
1762. Bute directs the Government.
1763. Peace of Paris.

CHAPTER IV

THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1763-1788

I. The Peace of Paris, and after: 1763-1783.

The Peace and the Powers, 1763—The European Powers, 1763-83—British Politics, 1763-83.

THE Peace of Paris in 1763 marks a turning-point in the history of the British Commonwealth, the point at which a great war had decided first that in Asia and in North America the British race, not the French, should have the mastery, and secondly that in any farther oceanic expansion the British had it in their power to outstrip all competitors. The supremacy so won was to be threatened during the next fifty years by the defeated rival, but the attacks always failed and left the British ascendency more decisively established than before; though the completeness of the triumph was marred within twenty years by the separation of one section of the Empire from the rest under the Star-spangled Banner instead of the Union Jack.

1. The British triumph.

Britain and France were the only Powers the extent of whose dominions was affected in any great degree by the war. Frederick of Prussia had just succeeded in holding his own; he had gained no territory and lost none. But he had made it quite certain that no one would be in a hurry to fight with him again though the exhaustion of Prussia made him no less anxious to avoid challenging his neighbours. Austria neither gained nor lost territory. The Bourbon kingdom of the Sicilies had remained apart from the war and was still a Bourbon kingdom, though King Charles had exchanged his crown for that of Spain. Spain, after her rash entry into the war, had lost Havana in the West and Manilla in the East Indies; but by the terms of the peace, Manilla was restored because the news of its capture had not arrived when the peace was signed; and Havana was given back to her in exchange for Florida. In fact she rather gained, because

The Peace of Paris.

France, despairing of expansion in America, gave her Louisiana. Russia had made no conquests. Saxony and the rest of the German states, including Hanover, ended as they had begun.

The enormous gains fell to Britain, though she gave back conquests which she might have insisted on keeping—Manila, islands in the West Indies, French stations on the African Gold Coast and in India. These 'surrenders' caused much indignation in England; because, though they might wisely have been made in a spirit of generosity and conciliation, every one knew that the Government made them merely because it was in a hurry to economise at once, though on the one hand it saved very little, and on the other threw away what would have been profitable possessions; so that France was not conciliated at all. The British gains.

The actual gains however were tremendous. At the outset, Britain had lost one very valuable possession, her naval station at Minorca; she had lost nothing else; but in 1761 she had captured Belle-Isle, a French island off the Loire. It was not particularly valuable, but the honour of France was concerned in recovering the fragment of French soil, and the restoration of Minorca was the price she paid for it. She ceded Canada—so that when she gave Louisiana to Spain she no longer had any foothold in North America, where the British could afford completely to ignore Spanish rivalry. In India she was given back her trading stations at Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and Mahé on the west coast, but with no more troops or fortifications than were necessary for police purposes and protection against local disturbances. Thus the Nizam at Haidarabad as well as the Nawab at Arcot were really under control of the British at Madras, and the Nawab of Bengal was in the hands of the British at Calcutta. In all India the British had no European rivals, as they had none in North America.

On the sea the war had made the British irresistibly supreme, and Britain alone had increased her commerce. It remained only for her to preserve that supremacy in time of peace.

Yet in one respect the peace was a bad one for Britain; it left her without a single friend in Europe except little Portugal. For she had deserted Frederick. Pitt had flatly refused to make any terms apart from his ally; Bute had made his own peace, leaving Prussia to make her own terms. Frederick considered that he had been betrayed—not that he had any objection to betraying other people, if it suited his own interests; but quite rightly he had relied absolutely on Pitt's loyalty, and therefore when England deserted him Isolation.

he was the more wrathful. His goodwill was turned into contemptuous dislike. On the other hand, Austria, England's ally of old, had been reconciled with France; and having nothing to fear from France had no more need of English friendship. And King Charles of Spain was not only a Bourbon, but one who had never forgiven England because, when he was still king of Naples during the Austrian succession war, a British naval commander had forcibly compelled him to sign articles of neutrality.

2. France, 1763-83.

BRITAIN was the one Power which had positively gained, France the one Power which had positively lost—though her territorial losses had all been beyond the seas. She was so exhausted that more than five-and-twenty years passed before she could again take an active part in the questions which disturbed the other continental Powers, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. But she was consumed with the desire to take vengeance on the Power which had shattered her imperial ambitions and driven her out of North America and India. While Britain was absorbed in party intrigues, and in manufacturing a quarrel with her own colonies, France was creating anew the navy without which she would have no chance of striking at the British Empire. When war broke out between Britain and her colonies in 1775, she watched eagerly; when it appeared that the colonies had a chance of winning, she seized her opportunity, and plunged into the war as the ally of the Americans. Her intervention was decisive, because for a time it paralysed the British navy; she drew both Spain and Holland into the coalition; she ensured the success of the colonies. But Britain, single-handed, fighting at bay against a ring of foes, recovered herself and struck back so hard that France and the rest made terms with her—having gained little enough for themselves, though they had helped to break the British Empire in two.

France had taken her revenge, but at heavy cost. She had failed in the end to break down the British naval supremacy, and destroyed her own chance of recovering from the huge expense of the Seven Years' War. She was almost bankrupt; that is, she had to spend in peace time every year more money than she could raise even by very heavy taxation. Wise men had warned her that she could not afford to take part in the American War, but she had refused their advice; and her bankruptcy joined to other troubles were destined in a very few years to bring about the French Revolution.

During these years also, two things had happened which did not seem to matter greatly at the time but had important consequences later. The island of Corsica was subject to the Italian republic of Genoa. The Corsicans revolted against the Genoese rule—and offered themselves and their island to Britain. Britain did not want Corsica, and declined the offer. Thereupon France and Genoa came to terms for the sale of the island, and France annexed it. Immediately afterwards, Napoleon Bonaparte was born there—a French subject. But for the accident which gave Corsica to France, he would never have become the leader of the French nation, and might have lived and died a British subject.

Corsica.

The other event was the marriage of the French dauphin—who became Louis XVI. in 1774—to Marie Antoinette, the sister of the Emperor Joseph (the son of Maria Theresa) and of his brother Leopold who reigned after him.

Russia, Prussia, and Austria concerned themselves little with the affairs either of Britain or of France, which did not interfere with them. But the later history of Europe was very much affected by the dealings of these three Powers with Poland at this period. East Prussia—the ancient duchy from which the Prussian kingdom took its name—was separated from the main part of the kingdom (the old Electorate of Brandenburg) by a piece of Poland, whose other neighbours were Russia and Austria. In 1772 each of the three Powers, by mutual agreement, annexed the part of Poland which lay on its own borders. None of them had any right to Polish territory. The thing was a piece of barefaced robbery, but Britain and France were too busily occupied elsewhere to interfere; and Poland herself was so ill governed, so split up into factions and parties, that she could offer no resistance. There was still a kingdom of Poland left, for this was only the first partition: but twenty-three years later—in 1795—the remnant was divided among the robbers and the Polish kingdom disappeared.

Poland.

ALL through these twenty years the British Empire was absorbed in what we may call its own family affairs and paid very little heed to the doings of European Powers—with whom it came into collision only because they chose to thrust themselves into the family quarrels. The newly-acquired dominions in Canada and India required very careful and skilful handling; happily there were men on the spot who proved equal to

3. The British Government.

the task, in spite of bungling interference from home. Happily; because for twenty years the British Government bungled everything to which it put its hand.

It had before it the ordinary routine business of administration, which it allowed to go to pieces; the business of watching movements abroad, which it ignored; the business of organising its new dependencies, which it shirked; the business of readjusting the relations with the old colonies under conditions entirely changed by the expulsion of the French from America, over which it stumbled from blunder to blunder, shutting its eyes to facts. And all the time what really absorbed its attention was not the interests of the nation at large but the intrigues of faction, personal jealousies, and above all the persistency with which the young king worked to get the control of parliament into his own hands. Ten years after his accession, parliament existed to carry out the king's wishes. The king ruled. Another ten years passed, and every one could see that the disastrous experiment had broken down. But the mischief had been done. The empire had been severed; in 1781 the question was whether its immediate end was at hand. It rallied and saved itself, flinging off its assailants; it could not recover what it had lost through levity and obstinacy.

Parliament had become for a moment really representative of public opinion while the elder Pitt ruled; it became so again when Pitt's son took the helm, with a parliamentary majority at his back, in 1784. Between 1762 and 1784 it represented first only party managers and then the king to whom the party managers had sold their services. There is little enough to be proud of in the political proceedings of those years, though at the end of the war the national spirit asserted itself outside parliament, and almost in spite of parliament saved the nation's honour.

The British Parliament.

So in the next sections we shall have to see how it was that a triumphant war which had delivered the colonies from the menace of a dangerous rival was followed by a desperate quarrel between those colonies and the mother-country which rent the empire in two; and how the king succeeded—with fatal results—in recovering for the crown, though only for a few years, a control over the destinies of the country which it had not attempted to exercise since the flight of James II.; by methods which had been foreshadowed by Charles II. —though he had not brought them into full play—but were wholly different from those of any earlier monarchs.

The King.

For it was no part of George's plan to override parliament or to do

without parliament. He took example from Walpole and Newcastle. As they had commanded majorities in parliament, so could he. There were a few Whig noblemen who could secure the return of the candidates they chose for a very large number of seats; there were many boroughs where the king's own candidate would be secure. George's scheme was to unite in a party of his own the controllers of a large number of these 'pocket boroughs,' and by dint of bribery and corruption, by creating well-paid offices for his 'friends' and their friends, to capture so many more as would suffice to give him his majorities. In short, he would outplay the Whigs at their own game. The king's friends, from whatever party he drew them, would supply him with ministers who would do as he bade them, supported by unfailing majorities.

And he enjoyed a special advantage. He was the first king for fifty years whom his subjects looked upon as a true-born Briton, one of themselves, born and bred in England, the first whose right to the crown there was none to dispute, the first to whom every one with Cavalier or even Jacobite traditions could transfer the old sentiment of loyalty to the Stewarts. The Tories who had been shut out of political life for fifty years could return to it—honestly and without any corrupt inducements—as royalists and loyalists. It was possible for the king once more, as in Tudor days, to pose as the National Leader. He had enough at his back to give him victory; but he lacked, like Newcastle, the one thing without which no man can keep the leadership however he may have won it—the power of inspiring his followers with trust in his guidance.

A Briton born.

II. The Quarrel with America: 1763-1767.

Wilkes—George Grenville—The Stamp Act—Rockingham and Chatham.

Pitt had gone in 1761; Newcastle followed in 1762, because he refused to cut down the British supplies on which Frederick's treasury depended. The peace was the work of Bute. But he preferred managing the ministry from outside to ruling as its responsible chief. George Grenville, who was connected with Pitt by marriage but was convinced that the national expenditure was leading England to bankruptcy, became Prime Minister (1763).

1. Bute.

The treaty was vigorously denounced by an extremely disreputable member of parliament, John Wilkes, in No. 45 of his newspaper, the *North Briton*. (Bute was a Scot, the Scots were not popular in

England, and Wilkes saw that the popular course for him to take was to jibe at Bute and the Scots generally.) The king and the Government were furious; Wilkes was arrested and sent to the Tower. But the Chief Justice pronounced, first, that a member of parliament was protected by 'privilege of parliament' from arrest on the charge brought against Wilkes; and secondly, that the arrest would in any case have been illegal because the 'warrant' for his arrest was a 'general warrant'—that is, it did not name Wilkes in particular but only the 'authors, printers, and publishers' generally of the offensive article. Wilkes was set free, and of course he became a popular hero. The Government however discovered that he had written—though he had not printed—a disgusting pamphlet called an 'Essay on Woman'; and on the strength of this the House of Commons expelled him—which it could legally do. Members who defended Wilkes were then turned out of any offices they held. But Wilkes was going to be heard of again. The Government had made him, disreputable though he was, the champion of the great principle of Free Speech.

John Wilkes.

Bute was so desperately unpopular that he had to retire altogether, and a new ministry was formed under the duke of Bedford (one of the most powerful Whigs) and George Grenville, both of whom King George disliked intensely, though he agreed with their policy. It was this ministry which began the acute quarrel with the American colonies.

WE saw that the colonies had two standing grievances against the mother-country. These were, the way in which, from time to time, governors sent from England used their legal powers in a fashion which the colonists resented; and the restrictions placed on colonial trade for the benefit of English merchants. They had borne with both, partly because Walpole had established the practice of disregarding habitual breaches of the restrictions, but still more because, with the French in Canada, they could not afford to do without the British navy and British troops. Now however they had nothing to fear from the French, and it was quite certain that they would not bear with their grievances much longer. But George Grenville could see nothing of this. What he did see was that the colonies had gained vastly by a war, the cost of which had fallen almost entirely on Great Britain, and which had been won almost entirely by soldiers and sailors from Great Britain. The colonies ought to pay their share: they could

2. Old colonial grievances.

George Grenville.

legally be made to pay it since all their charters reserved the supreme control of 'the Crown in Parliament'; and meanwhile they were not even paying what the existing trade-laws required them to pay. In short, what the Americans saw was that they had a *moral* right to all the rights and liberties of British subjects living in Great Britain, some of which the existing law denied to them; what Grenville saw was that Great Britain had a *moral* right to a contribution from the colonies which she had a legal right to exact. Neither party gave a serious thought to the moral rights of the other.

So Grenville suddenly set about enforcing the existing laws about trade, which for fifty years the Americans had been in the habit of evading while the British authorities carefully kept their eyes shut. British gunboats and British naval officers were employed in the 'preventive' service to stop the American smuggling, in which the most respectable American citizens had been indulging. That in itself was enough to irritate them—it was an unpleasant reminder that their trade was fettered in the interests of the mother-country.

Then came the fatal blunder. Grenville invited the colonies to propose some scheme for making a voluntary contribution to the imperial treasury—which in itself was reasonable, as the colonies themselves saw. But, as no satisfactory voluntary scheme was put forward, Grenville went on in 1765 to impose a new tax—the famous Stamp Tax—on the colonies.

The Stamp Tax.

THE Stamp Tax was perfectly legal, but it was what we now call unconstitutional; that is, it was a departure from the recognised practice of government, like the 'Impositions' made by James I., or the refusal of parliament to grant tonnage and poundage under Charles I. Hitherto all the 'duties' imposed at the American ports had been 'customs' for the regulation of trade. But this new tax imposed on the Americans without their consent was one the avowed purpose of which was not the regulation of trade but the raising of revenue. Yet it had been laid down in the Declaration of Right in 1689 that no 'tax' might be imposed on the people without the consent of their representatives in parliament. The colonists had no representatives in the British parliament—therefore, said the colonists, the British parliament could not possibly have the right to tax them; the Bill of Rights had forbidden 'Taxation without Representation.' They could never have denied that both law and custom warranted duties for regulating trade. But Grenville had given them

3. A new grievance, 1765.

a new grievance, a 'tax' for which custom gave no warrant, and which it was at least possible to regard as a breach of an actual statute, the Bill of Rights which had given statutory form to the Declaration of Right.

The colonists then claimed the lawful right to disobey the Stamp Act, as once the merchant Bate—backed by parliament but not by the judges—had resisted the Impositions. They claimed that in doing so they, like the forefathers of the Whigs, were defending the spirit of the law even if lawyers were able to argue that its letter was against them. 'Give us,' they said, 'representation in parliament—then parliament can tax us if it chooses; but not unless we are properly represented. Till then, if you want money from us, you must be satisfied with what we think it right to give you.' And this, we may remark, is exactly what the Dominions do at the present day.

The American answer.

Still, we must in fairness see what were Grenville's difficulties. Representation can hardly be worked now when it takes less than a week to cross the Atlantic; when New Zealand is, so to speak, as near London as New York was in Grenville's time; and when we cross the seas in huge floating hotels instead of cramped sailing-ships. Practically in the eighteenth century the thing was impossible. On the other hand, he found that he could not count on a reasonable response to a request for money; all the colonies were jealous of each other, and each was much more anxious to avoid paying more than its fair share in a common contribution than to take the lead in a generous fulfilment of its obligations. Moreover Grenville—having the mind of a small lawyer, not of a great one—would not surrender any claim of whose legality he was satisfied; he was shocked and scandalised when the other side defied the machinery of the law, and was determined that no concession should be made to them as long as they offered open resistance to the officers of the law.

Excuses.

The whole story is a particularly striking example of the kind of folly which first creates quarrels which never ought to have arisen and then magnifies them—when a reasonable spirit of give-and-take on both sides would provide a safe solution—till they have grown past healing. In this quarrel there were faults on both sides, chiefly because neither attempted to see what was fair in the point of view of the other, or whether there was not after all something unfair in its own. The most stupid blunders were those of the British Government, because it was quite impossible for them to serve any

Unwisdom.

useful purpose, and quite impossible for them not to be irritating—difficult indeed not to believe that their only object was to irritate. So the point was reached when neither side could give way without humiliation, and there was nothing left but to fight it out. Yet it must never be forgotten that there was a large body of public opinion in Great Britain which resisted the mistaken policy of the Government with all its might.

Nobody at that time questioned that the mother-country had a right to place restrictions on the trade of her colonies for the benefit of her own traders, though Walpole had seen that it was wiser in practice not to enforce the restrictions which the law had laid down. Grenville's first error was the violent desertion of Walpole's practice; though no one could deny that he had a right to enforce the law, his doing so stirred up the temper of mistrust and antagonism. The second and worse error was the imposing of a tax which though legal in the strict sense could be denounced as illegal in the wider sense—as a defiance of the spirit of the law. The Stamp Tax was a small thing; it merely required that government stamps should be attached to all legal documents; it would bring in only a very small revenue. But it was a tax for the purpose of providing revenue, which had never been levied before, and it was an inland tax whereas before no duties had been levied except at the ports, on imports and exports. The indignant Americans retaliated by refusing to buy British goods—which was legal—and by wrecking the government offices and burning the government stamps—which was not. By breaking the law, they gave the Government an excuse for refusing to listen to the peace-makers.

4. Grenville's error.

Though the king agreed with Grenville and Bedford, he could not endure them personally. Though he had driven Pitt out of office four years ago, Pitt—who held that the American protest was just—seemed the only alternative. Had he accepted office again in 1765, the whole story might have taken a different course. He refused, because he had given personal pledges to some of his supporters, to which George could not agree. So, not long after the Stamp Act was passed, George tried a third course. A great Whig nobleman, the marquis of Rockingham, formed a ministry mostly composed of supporters of Pitt. The brains were supplied by Rockingham's secretary, Edmund Burke, who was not himself a minister; but his speeches in parliament showed the lines on which

The Rockinghams, 1765-6.

the American question ought to be dealt with; and at the beginning of 1766 the Stamp Act was repealed, though the repeal was accompanied by a 'Declaratory Act,' an Act declaring that the British Government had the power to tax the colonies should need arise.

Had the Rockingham ministry continued in office, or had Pitt joined it as its chief, the troubles might have been smoothed down. But the ministers were not strong men; George, who was working up his own party of 'king's friends,' did not support them loyally; Pitt, who had determined to be bound by no 'party ties,' would not lead the Rockingham party. The ministry broke down, and at last Pitt accepted office on his own terms (1766).

Pitt's return, 1766.

But it was too late, because Pitt's own health was breaking down. He had great plans—for reviving American loyalty, for reviving the alliance with Frederick, for organising government in India, for changing the methods of parliamentary elections ('Parliamentary Reform') so as to make the House of Commons really representative of public opinion. Not one of his plans was he able to carry out.

The Grafton ministry, 1766-70.

He chose his ministry without regard to party—for he was to be a dictator, as he had been for four years during the war. He lost much of his popularity and influence by accepting a peerage and becoming earl of Chatham, forfeiting thereby his popular title 'the Great Commoner.' And then he broke down altogether, became absolutely incapable of taking part in public affairs, and left the Government entirely to the strange assortment of ministers he had chosen (known as the Grafton ministry because its nominal head was the duke of Grafton), whose real head, so far as they had a head at all, was the king. And those ministers, so long as they stood together, could be quite sure of their majority in parliament. When Chatham's health was, later, sufficiently restored for him to make some reappearance in public life, he found that though he might make speeches he could not command votes, and that during his illness the ministry had been doing in his name everything which was most repugnant to his principles.

III. The Breach Widens: 1767-1774.

Townshend's Taxes—Wilkes and Liberty—Growing Hostility.

From the Rockingham point of view, the Repeal of the Stamp Act, taken together with the Declaratory Act, meant that Great Britain intended only to claim a technical right which was not to be exercised

unless in an emergency more serious than was ever likely to arise. If matters had been left where they stood, that view would have become fully established and accepted in America as well as at Westminster. But matters were not left where they stood. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, wanted to increase the revenue; to do so, he proposed to increase the English land-tax. The House of Commons, largely composed of landowners, rejected the plan; whereupon he proposed instead a fresh tax or group of taxes on the colonies—duties upon half a dozen imports, all of them trivial.

1. Townshend's taxes.

The taxes would not hurt the Americans, while the gain to the British revenue would be paltry. But the proposal, blindly accepted by parliament, destroyed all the good done by the Repeal of the Stamp Act, and made it appear that on the strength of the Declaratory Act, the British meant to tax America whenever the fancy took them. As John Hampden had refused to pay the few shillings demanded of him for ship-money in 1637, because a principle was at stake, the Americans refused to pay the new taxes; and they stopped buying British goods, and made lawless attacks on British officials.

Then British public opinion, which had before been rather favourable to the colonies, swung over. The merchants were irritated by the loss of trade, and the community generally by the outbreaks of lawlessness. The Americans had put themselves in the wrong. There was a General Election in 1768, and the supporters of the Government were returned with an undiminished majority.

In a mistaken belief that trade would be restored if some concessions were made, the Government in 1769 withdrew five of the six new taxes, but retained that on tea. If there had been a hundred new taxes, and ninety-nine of them had been withdrawn leaving the hundredth, it would have made no difference to the Americans—unless by irritating them still more; because what the British called a concession showed only that the British Government did not and would not understand that the question was one of principle; though it also helped to convince the Americans that if they held out, the Government would give way. That in turn was misjudgment on the part of the Americans; the British had now put themselves in such a position that to give way would be to acknowledge defeat.

Partial repeal.

Now there were members of the Grafton ministry who had always disliked the taxes. Chatham's first public action, when he was well

enough to act at all, was to resign office. Others in 1769 urged not a partial but a complete withdrawal of the taxes. In 1770 this group, including Grafton himself, resigned. But the Grafton group, the Rockingham group, and the Grenville group could not unite to form a government which would have the faintest chance of carrying on. When Grafton resigned his place was taken by Lord North, one of the 'King's Friends' (he had become Chancellor of the Exchequer in place of Townshend who died a few months after his taxes were passed); the other vacancies caused by resignations were filled by 'King's Friends'; the whole body of ministers considered that their business was to carry out the king's wishes, whatever they might be; they still commanded secure majorities in the House of Commons, while the king commanded a secure majority in the House of Lords; the king's allies among them could secure majorities when general elections came round; and so for eleven years from 1770 the North ministry continued its disastrous rule, carrying out the behests of King George.

North, Prime Minister, 1770-81.

Possibly the blunder of 1769 would not have been committed if the public had not been excited by something much more important than the British Empire — the Middlesex Elections. John Wilkes, who had been condemned as guilty, and had been outlawed, on certain charges which he had not chosen to face before the law-courts, returned to England for the General Election in 1768 and was elected Member for Middlesex. Then he successfully got himself sent to prison, and released on a point of law, to the joy of the mob. Then the House of Commons expelled him, as it had done in 1764. Middlesex re-elected him. The House declared that the election was void and that Wilkes was not eligible (a power which it had never claimed before). There was a third election. The electors refused to be dictated to by a majority of the House of Commons; Wilkes stood again, no one opposed him, and he was elected a third time. Again the House quashed the election; at a fourth election a rival candidate, Colonel Luttrell, stood against him; and though Wilkes had a sweeping majority, the House declared that the votes cast for him were invalid—did not count—and that Luttrell was the duly elected member for Middlesex.

2. The Middlesex Elections, 1768-9.

So Wilkes was shut out of the House, and became of course more popular than ever. The House and the Government had won what they might call a victory; but they had made Wilkes far more power-

ful outside parliament than he would ever have been inside it; their claim to override the choice of the electors made them unpopular; and they dared not reject a Bill brought in by George Grenville (who died immediately afterwards) which gave the decision of disputed elections to a small committee pledged to give judgment in accordance with the evidence, instead of to a party vote in the House of Commons.

The Government was soon to find that it had not done with Wilkes. At the present day, debates in parliament are reported and published very fully in the daily papers, and word for word in the volumes known as *Hansard*. But in the eighteenth century and before it proceedings in parliament were supposed to be secret. To make known what was said or done there was a 'breach of privilege,' and anything that professed to be a printed report of it might be punished as a 'seditious libel.' There had been good enough reason for this in the earlier days, when the only place where free criticism of the king and his ministers was protected was within the walls of the parliament. Free speech in parliament would have become impossible if reporting it outside had been allowed. But in the eighteenth century, though that danger had disappeared the privilege continued to be cherished by parliament.

Publication of debates.

Nevertheless reports began to appear. They professed to be entirely fictitious; but sometimes it was quite evident that they were at least based upon actual debates; and in the reign of George III., that they were fictitious had ceased to be much more than a pretence. The public wanted to know what went on in parliament, and there was no reason why it should not be told, except that parliament itself objected. It objected so strongly that in 1771 it ordered the arrest of certain printers who had published reports. They were brought before the magistrates of the city of London—the Lord Mayor and two of the aldermen, one being Wilkes. The magistrates discharged the prisoners. The House of Commons summoned the magistrates to answer for their conduct as a breach of privilege. Wilkes refused to obey unless he was summoned as 'Member for Middlesex.' The Government dared not attempt to arrest him in the city, which would have been up in arms to defend him; as far as he was concerned, they let the matter drop, though they sent the other two, Lord Mayor Crosby and Alderman Oliver to the Tower—after which Crosby and Oliver were, hardly less than Wilkes himself, heroes and martyrs in the eyes of the populace. Once more the Government could claim a

Wilkes again, 1778.

'victory' in form which was a triumph for Wilkes in fact. Reports of debates continued to appear; even the pretence that they were fictitious was abandoned; but there were no more attempts to punish their publishers, and a few years later the publication of reports was legalised by statute.

Thus did John Wilkes, a clever rascal with no moral or political principles but with a genius for advertisement, win freedom of election to parliament, and the Liberty of the Press, and render real service to the State, with much profitable notoriety for himself. But those were reforms which would not have been long deferred in any case. The misfortune was that they should have absorbed the interest of politics, politicians, and the British public when questions infinitely more critical were at stake.

3. The Boston Massacre, 1770.

The partial withdrawal of the new duties had been decided on and announced, in the early summer of 1769, when the Middlesex Election agitation was still exciting men's minds: but it did not become law till March 1770, when North was Prime Minister. At the same moment a riot took place in Boston (Massachusetts) which is known as the Boston Massacre. British troops had been quartered there, much to the wrath of the population; a party of soldiers were attacked by the mob, fired on them, and killed or wounded half a dozen. A Boston jury acquitted the soldiers, but much capital was made out of the affair by the agitators. Still for some time matters seemed on the surface to have quieted down. But the grievance was still rankling.

In 1772 the schooner *Gaspee*, which was engaged in the prevention of smuggling, stranded on a shoal. A party of Americans boarded and burnt her; but no one would give information about the outrage and the perpetrators escaped. Then in 1773 some private letters which had been written to England by Hutchinson the English governor of Boston were published in America. On the one hand, the language he used excited bitter ill-feeling in America; on the other, the publication of these private documents without the writer's sanction was regarded in England as grossly dishonourable, and the blame for it was laid on Benjamin Franklin—who was then in London as the official agent for some of the colonies.

So temper was again running high on both sides, when at the end of the year three ships reached Boston harbour carrying tea from India. Tea was the one article on which the tax had been retained. A party

of Bostonians, dressed as Red Indians, boarded the ships and pitched the tea-chests into the sea, while a multitude of approving spectators looked on from the land. Again, no information could be extracted from any one about the persons who had taken part in this famous adventure, which is known as the Boston Tea-party.

The Boston Tea-party, 1773.

Such audacious defiance could be answered only by surrender or punishment. In March 1774, three months after the Tea-party, penal measures were passed against the colony of Massachusetts. Its 'charter' was suspended, and the powers of its English governor were extended. The port of Boston was closed. The trials on certain charges were to be withdrawn from the Massachusetts Courts of Justice, and were to take place either in Nova Scotia or in Great Britain; and more troops were to be quartered on the colony.

Massachusetts Penal Acts, 1774.

About the same time a measure was passed for Canada which had nothing whatever to do with the old colonies, but nevertheless excited alarm in them. Canada had passed into the British Empire in 1763; but apart from the Red Indians in it the population was almost entirely French and Roman Catholic. The governor, Sir Guy Carleton, better known as Lord Dorchester, saw that these people should be treated not as if they were English but, as much as possible, in accordance with their own customs and traditions. They had never possessed, like the English colonies, institutions modelled on those of England and the English parliament; nor did they want them. Their own old laws were not the laws of England. So in 1774 Carleton procured from the British Government the Quebec Act, which set up the English criminal law, but retained the old French civil law, and at the same time secured to the Roman Catholic clergy the tithes and other payments they had received in the past, though Protestants were exempted from making the payments. The government was to be in the hands of the governor and a council, not elected but appointed by the Crown; taxation was reserved to the British parliament. The law was an excellent one, and what the Canadians wanted; but it alarmed the New Englanders who were mainly of Puritan descent, and were indignant at the favour shown to Roman Catholics; it was not much less resented in the Plantations, for the old Cavaliers, from whom the planters were descended, had detested Roman Catholicism only a little less than they hated Puritanism; and both groups suspected that it was intended to

The Quebec Act, 1774.

force upon them the arbitrary form of government adopted for Canada.

The Penal Acts were directed against Massachusetts; but the sympathies of all the colonies were on her side; in the eyes of them all, the British Government was acting tyrannically; they were determined to resist, as their forefathers had resisted Charles I. They had as yet no intention of demanding separation; but they were bent on maintaining their traditional liberties. In England it was mistakenly but confidently believed that they would submit if they were met with a resolute front.

Defiance hardens.

IV. The Opening Duel: 1774-1777.

Outbreak of War—The Combatants—To Saratoga.

EACH of the thirteen colonies had its own separate government, subject to no other rule except that of the king and the British parliament. There was no legal machinery by which they could all act together. But, on the suggestion of Virginia, a Congress was assembled at Philadelphia in September (1774) to which the Assemblies of every colony except Georgia sent delegates to represent them. This 'Continental Congress' agreed to send to England a 'Declaration of Rights' like that of 1689, and a demand for the repeal of the Penal Acts against Massachusetts. At the same time it affirmed its loyalty to the British Empire. It was also agreed that the Congress should meet again next May.

1. Philadelphia Congress.

In Massachusetts, where the Charter was suspended, no Assembly could be legally summoned without writs for an election signed by the governor (General Gage, who had taken the place of Hutchinson, the writer of the letters which had created so much excitement in 1773). Gage did not issue the writs, but the Assembly was elected as usual—though it called itself a 'Provincial Congress' as it had no legal standing—and it was treated by the whole colony as if it had full legal authority. Massachusetts did not expect the British Government to give way; it prepared for war by enrolling a force of volunteers who were called 'minute men,' and appointing organising committees. The example was promptly followed by other colonies. In England, on the other hand, the king and North with their secure majorities (which were rather increased by a General Election) would not listen to the protests of the opposition headed by Chatham in the Lords and by Burke in the Commons. More troops

Massachusetts.

were ordered to America; fresh measures were taken to throttle American trade; and when to these was added a 'Conciliation Bill' to release from British taxation any colonies which would make a sufficient voluntary contribution to imperial defence, the colonies laughed the proposal to scorn—regarding it as a mere pretence, of which the real object was to break up their unity. No one in fact except the ministers who brought in the Bill believed in the honesty of their intentions.

The train was fired on 19th April 1775 by a skirmish between a party of minute men and some Government troops at Lexington between Concord and Boston. The troops had been set to seize some military stores at Concord. Along the road by which they returned marksmen were concealed—'snipers,' we should call them now—who fired upon them, being themselves under cover; two hundred of the British were hit, but not more than a hundred of the snipers. It was a small affair, but after it the business could only be settled by war.

War begins (April-June), 1775.

Three weeks after Lexington the Continental Congress met again at Philadelphia, and assumed the direction of affairs as if it had been the legal Government of the united colonies. It rejected North's 'conciliation' proposals; and appointed George Washington commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, in June. Meanwhile an expedition from Massachusetts had seized Ticonderoga (a post which might be regarded as the gate of Canada). On the other hand, troops from England were arriving at Boston to reinforce General Gage.

Boston was to be the centre of the first fighting. Before Washington arrived to take command there had been a hot engagement—the battle of Bunker Hill (June)—which had greatly encouraged the Americans. They had occupied the heights of Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill which command Charlestown on the north bank of the River Charles, facing Boston itself on the south bank. The British regulars were twice repulsed before they succeeded in storming the position, and their losses were much heavier than those of the colonial volunteers.

A last attempt was made by the peace party in America who sent to England what was known as the 'Olive-branch Petition.' George refused to consider it. There could be no negotiations till the rebels laid down their arms. More troops were hired, not British troops but Germans from the state of Hesse, whose prince was willing to lease his soldiers for cash. When the rebels had learnt the futility of resistance and made humble submission Great Britain might show her magna-

nimity, her generosity to the fallen—but the rebels must have their lesson first.

HAVING thus made up their minds, there was only one rational course for King George and North to follow—to exert the full strength of the Empire, overwhelm resistance, and bring the war to an early and decisive conclusion. The fleet which had swept all opponents off the seas sixteen years ago should have controlled the whole American coast from Maine to Florida. Troops under efficient officers, determined to strike and to strike hard, should have been despatched to Boston and to Canada in irresistible numbers. If the Americans were to be forced to submission, the thing should have been done—if it could be done at all—with the utmost possible promptitude and vigour.

2. British ineptitude.

But in the actions of the Government there was neither promptitude nor vigour; for which four reasons may be given. First, they were unprepared, the army was small and ill-organised, for seven years the once all-powerful navy had been scandalously neglected. Secondly, they were comfortably convinced that no real effort was needed—the resistance of the colonists would very soon collapse. Thirdly, a large and powerful body of opinion at home was in strong sympathy with the colonies; there were officers who had chosen to resign rather than serve, and others who, though they would not go so far as that, still had no heart in the war. And in the fourth place, there was no one in the ministry who understood his business.

So neither troops nor ships were sent in sufficient numbers, and though no better naval commander could have been found than the admiral selected, Lord Howe, the military officers—including the chief, Sir William Howe, the admiral's brother—were at best respectable; good enough soldiers but incompetent generals; while they were hampered by instructions from authorities still less competent, in England.

There was indeed excuse for the British belief that colonial resistance would collapse; it is at least possible that it would have gone to pieces but for the fortunate selection of George Washington as the American army chief. American volunteer troops had no doubt shown that they could fight gallantly—they could boast that a colonial contingent had captured Louisbourg nearly thirty years before, and that some of them had done good service in the Seven Years' War. But they had no professional soldiers, no

The American weakness.

trained officers, no habit of discipline. The thirteen colonies had never learnt to act together; they had no common controlling authority; they were jealous of each other; in the army the rank and file were jealous of the officers, officers were jealous of superior officers, superior officers were jealous of each other and of their chief. The indomitable patience and tact of Washington did in fact hold them together; but it may well be doubted whether any other leader could have done so. Yet the weakness which was evident on the surface, the probability of collapse, was really an additional reason for making the opening attack so vigorous as to turn probability into certainty; it was treated as a reason for throwing so little energy into that attack that the probability faded out, and a much bigger effort became necessary; the new effort was again not big enough, or intelligent enough; Great Britain's watching enemies intervened; and she found herself fighting for life with her back to the wall, four years after she had begun the contest which had looked so easy.

The colonials on the other hand, convinced of the justice of their cause and only half conscious of the weak points in their own position, entered upon the struggle with a confidence which was greatly increased by the skirmish at Lexington and the hard fighting at Bunker Hill, between their volunteer levies and the British regulars. They were sure that they could force the mother-country to accept their own terms, which in a little more than twelve months after the first engagement had risen to an unqualified assertion of complete independence. Their first successes at Ticonderoga and then at Crown Point were followed by the surrender of Montreal, and they expected that Quebec too, and with it all Canada, would be theirs before the first winter (1775-6) was over.

American confidence.

The Canadian scheme was a failure. The French Canadians were satisfied with the system of government; they had no sympathy with the political ideas of the thirteen revolted colonies, and no friendly feeling for their old foes in Puritan New England. Carleton at Quebec, though unsupported from home, was an efficient commander; the attacking forces were ill-organised and ill-provided. Carleton stood on the defensive in Quebec; an attempt to storm it at the end of December was decisively repulsed; the attacking forces were ill-equipped for a siege; and when in the late spring (1776) the St. Lawrence became navigable and was entered by a British naval squadron, the siege was raised.

3. Canada, 1775-6.

Meanwhile however, Washington, in command before Boston, had made the position there impossible for Howe to hold. The British force was withdrawn by sea to Halifax (in Nova Scotia) in March 1776. On 4th July Congress issued the Declaration of Independence, signed by the representatives of twelve of the colonies, New York alone abstaining. Hitherto the colonists had avowedly been fighting only for their liberties as British subjects; but the spirit of hostility had grown with the fighting. The war from this time was frankly a war for separation.

The Declaration of Independence (July), 1776.

Boston, which was at the very centre of disaffection, had been abandoned; but New York, where the loyalists were strong, the two parties among the Americans being almost evenly balanced, was chosen to take its place as the headquarters of the British troops. In the summer the British forces were brought back from Halifax to the Hudson. Washington, who meanwhile had occupied New York, was compelled to evacuate it; Carleton began a movement from Canada and recaptured Crown Point; Washington was pushed back over the Delaware River as the autumn passed; but still Howe did not attempt to strike the blow which might have completed the demoralisation produced in Washington's army by its compulsory retreat. Behind the Delaware he was allowed to reorganise it, the more successfully because Congress gave him whole-hearted support and increased his powers—the curtailment of which, jealous officers had been demanding. On the other hand in Canada, Carleton was superseded by a new and far from competent general, Burgoyne.

Before the end of the year Washington was forcing Howe to concentrate again at New York the troops which had been extending the British occupation farther afield.

Now the British official plan of operations for the summer of 1777 was this. Washington with his main army was held behind the Delaware. There was to be a simultaneous movement—southwards under Burgoyne from Ticonderoga to the Hudson, northwards up the Hudson by a substantial part of the New York army under Clinton. When these two forces joined hands, the whole New England group of colonies would be cut off from Washington's army which would then be enveloped—that is, its flank would be turned—and crushed. The plan required Burgoyne and Clinton to advance at the same time; otherwise Burgoyne might be cut off and crushed by a superior force before he and Clinton could join hands.

Campaigns of 1777.

But Howe had another plan of his own—to take a part of his force down to the mouth of the Delaware, turning Washington's position, and capture Philadelphia, where the Congress was sitting. Probably he thought that the fall of Philadelphia would break up the Americans and bring them to submission. He did capture Philadelphia, but unfortunately his management of the campaign made it impossible to carry out the other concerted or joint movement of Burgoyne and Clinton. Clinton found himself tied to New York when he should have been on his way to meet Burgoyne; and the result was disastrous. Philadelphia.

For Howe's plan to work, he should have started in spring; instead of which he sailed from New York with nearly two-thirds of the force in July. Apparently he imagined that Burgoyne could without difficulty make his march down the Hudson unsupported. Then, finding the Delaware landing impracticable, he went on to the Chesapeake, losing more time. Thence he advanced on Philadelphia, defeating an opposing force at Brandywine Creek, and took Philadelphia, from which Congress had retired. Its capture did not break up the Americans. He summoned reinforcements from New York, and drove back Washington who was threatening to attack him. Washington retired to lines established at Valley Forge between New York and Philadelphia, and there remained in a somewhat precarious position through the winter.

But meanwhile the disaster had occurred which proved to be the turning-point of the war. Burgoyne, in accordance with his instructions, had advanced from Crown Point in July, captured Ticonderoga, and moved south to meet Clinton. But the country was difficult and hostile; the march was slow; Clinton, left by Howe in charge of New York, could not spare a force large enough to be of any use, and therefore sent none. An American column, acting against Burgoyne alone, manœuvred him into a trap at Saratoga (17th October), where he had no choice but to surrender, with his whole force of 5000 men. Saratoga (October).

V. At Bay: 1778-1783.

The Defeat in America, 1778-81—The Naval Recovery, 1782—The Peace of 1783.

From the purely military point of view, Saratoga was a disaster which might very well have been redeemed. Its importance lay in the fact that it brought new combatants into the field to reinforce the Americans,

but none on the British side. France had long been watching, sympathetically; French volunteers had already placed their swords at Washington's service—somewhat to his embarrassment, because his officers were even more jealous of them than of each other. Hitherto however she had hesitated to join in the fray, more cautious counsels prevailing. Saratoga removed her hesitation; she felt now, rightly enough, that her intervention would secure victory to the colonies and inflict an irreparable blow on her old enemy—though she forgot to reckon what the cost would be to herself.

1. Enter France, 1778.

The news of Saratoga reached France in December. In February (1778) she made alliance with the Americans; in March the treaty was published. The Rockingham party in England urged the withdrawal of troops from America and concentration upon war with France; the king himself was perhaps inclined to that course; no one dreamed of any sort of surrender to the French intervention. Chatham desperately ill, was carried into the House of Lords to make his last protest—both against the old false policy towards the colonies, and the new disposition to consent to their separation from the Empire; before his almost inaudible speech was finished, he fell back, stricken with apoplexy. A few weeks later (on 7th April) he was dead.

Death of Chatham (April).

North remained in office; no one except conceivably Chatham could have induced the Americans to accept anything short of complete independence, and on that point the country was determined not to yield. A Rockingham ministry was therefore impossible, and Great Britain fought on desperately, grimly, under incompetent guides because there were none competent, but still indomitably.

And the struggle was desperate because once more the French fleet had been reorganised, and the British, so far from being able to sweep the seas, repeatedly found themselves matched against squadrons stronger at least in numbers than their own. Philadelphia was evacuated and by the skill of Lord Howe the troops were brought back to New York, though his fleet was smaller than that of the French which had reached American waters; and the French admiral, D'Estaing, went south to attack the British in the West Indies.

Britain on the defensive, 1778-81.

For the next two years the French fleets were held in check only by the superior skill of British admirals in command of weaker squadrons. But in fact it was the French fleet which made the actually decisive move in 1781. General Howe had been withdrawn, and Clinton was

in command at New York, whence in 1779 he had despatched a column under Cornwallis to the southern colonies. But marching through them and bringing them to subjection was of little use while Washington's main army, reinforced from France, was pressing upon New York. Cornwallis did what it was possible to do, but it was of no great service. The French naval predominance was increased, because Spain joined in and began a three years' siege of Gibraltar, and then in 1780 Holland also joined against the British; so that the greater part of the fleet was detained in European waters.

In 1781, then, Cornwallis, having subdued the south so far as it could be subdued without being garrisoned, moved to the Chesapeake, intending to join hands again with Clinton at New York, the way to which by land was blocked. Having reached Yorktown (October), 1781. Yorktown he was blockaded there on the land side by a portion of Washington's army, Clinton meanwhile having been deceived into the belief that the whole of the American force was on the point of making a grand attack on New York itself. The French fleet, evading a battle in the open with the British, entered Chesapeake Bay, completing the blockade; and in October Cornwallis with his whole force was obliged to surrender. After the surrender of Yorktown all prospect even of a military victory over the Americans vanished. The British forces were shut up in New York; and the French were actually predominant on the sea.

2. The Sea.

At the end of 1781, then, American Independence was won; and it was won because Great Britain had for a time lost command of the sea—just as in the last war she had been completely victorious because she gained complete command of the sea. But the war was not over, because her enemies were not yet satisfied. They were bent on crushing her, and she was not yet crushed. In 1782 by recovering command of the sea she broke down the attempt to crush her. Between 1779 and 1782 her power was in greater danger of destruction than at any moment in her past history; but she was saved by her sailors.

It was the fault not of the navy but of the government that those years were so desperately critical. It was perhaps her good fortune that no French fleet however large tried to force an engagement on a British squadron however small; the Frenchman, De Grasse, who brought about the fall of Yorktown might have fought either of two British squadrons (under Graves and Hood) which when combined

were smaller than his own. By evading them he made the fall of Yorktown certain, but he missed the chance of striking a blow at the fleet itself. Yet the mere fact is enough to show how the French commanders would seldom risk a straight fight with the British even when the odds were heavily in their favour. The final result was that when the British admiral, Rodney, in 1782 succeeded in forcing a battle on the French main fleet, he broke it up though he did not by any means annihilate it; the victory once more gave the British an actual though slight ascendency; and the ascendency being recovered the mastery was sure to follow.

The Fleets, 1778-81.

Yet until then the chances had been in favour of Britain's enemies. The French had started well in 1778 by fighting a drawn battle, off Ushant (Brittany), with a fleet of about equal size at the time when they were sending to America a larger fleet than Britain could spare for those waters. During the next two years the British admirals in the West Indies had to deal with fleets much larger than those under their own command. When Spain came into the war in 1779 her fleet kept Gibraltar in a state of blockade, and no British force strong enough to break up the siege could be sent, though reliefs were successfully thrown in at long intervals.

In 1780 Holland joined in the attack, in consequence of what was called the armed neutrality. This was a league formed by the Powers with ports on the Baltic or the North Sea (including Prussia, whose king had never forgiven his 'betrayal' in 1762), to resist the British claim to the 'right of search' in war-time; the right, that is, of stopping and searching the ships of neutral states for goods intended for Britain's enemies. The entry of Holland made it more impossible than ever for Britain to spare ships from the home waters, and in 1781 brought about a very stubborn battle, like all those between British and Dutch, off the Dogger Bank in the North Sea. The fight itself was drawn, but Holland could not afford to face another contest of the kind, though Britain still had to keep watch and ward over the North Sea.

The naval crisis, 1782.

All this made De Grasse's task in American waters easier. Yorktown fell; and then the Spaniards, while still hanging on at Gibraltar, struck a successful blow and captured Port Mahon in Minorca. Therefore in 1782 it appeared that by combining their fleets the French and Spaniards could place in West Indian waters a force which could overwhelm the British there—even though the French were sending to the East Indies a squadron of whose doings we shall read later.

This intended junction of a fleet from Spain with De Grasse's West Indian fleet was the plan which Rodney shattered on 12th April at the battle of The Saints (the name of the group of rocky islands near Dominica, off which it was fought). De Grasse, with the larger fleet, lay at Martinique, Rodney at St. Lucia. De Grasse sailed for Hayti where he was to meet the Spaniards; Rodney started in pursuit, overtook him, 'broke the line,' cutting it in two at the centre, and crushed the French centre and rear while the van was unable to come into action. The rest escaped, but not to Hayti—and the whole French and Spanish scheme was shattered. The British were at last supreme in the western ocean.

Rodney's victory (April).

Five months later (September) the Spaniards staked everything on a tremendous attack on Gibraltar which had held out for three years. Not only did the assault fail after a five days' bombardment; on the last day nine of the bombarding ships were destroyed by the fire from the Rock. A month later fresh reliefs were brought in to the defenders, and the siege was abandoned.

Gibraltar (Sept.).

THE relief of Gibraltar was the end of the fighting. North had resigned after Yorktown; much against his will George had been forced to form a Rockingham ministry, including many of Chatham's followers. Every one knew that in any peace the independence of the former colonies would have to be accepted; every one was determined to fight to the last gasp against the Bourbons. In that struggle the scales were turned by Rodney's victory and the successful defence of Gibraltar. France and Spain were exhausted and were now more likely to lose than to gain by going on with the war. Britain was too exhausted to wish to continue the struggle, now that she had saved her honour, for the sake of doubtful gains which would not be worth what they would cost. Peace negotiations were already on foot in November; in February 1783 the main points were already settled; but it was not till September that the actual treaty of Versailles was signed by all the states concerned.

3. Peace (Feb.), 1783.

The treaty recognised the independence of the thirteen colonies, drawing between them on one side and Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada on the other a line so badly defined that it gave rise later to serious boundary disputes. In the colonies which remained within the British Empire a refuge was found for those families—chiefly from the south—who had remained stubbornly loyal to the Flag throughout the conflict. Being a minority,

Treaty of Versailles (Sept.), 1783.

they had suffered severely at the hands of their neighbours throughout the war; if they remained in their homes they were certain to suffer gross persecution, from which there would be no means of protecting them; they themselves preferred to remain under the British Flag, and (to the number of 30,000) migrated to the north, where they became known as the United Empire Loyalists, and were to play a leading part in the future history of what is now the Dominion of Canada.

In the agreement with the European Powers, Britain suffered only one serious loss—Spain retained Minorca. In the West Indies, the island of Tobago was ceded by Britain to France, to whom Senegal and Goree in Africa, taken from her twenty years before, were also restored. In the East the British kept Negapatam which they had taken from the Dutch. Otherwise all conquests made on either side were restored.

The thirteen colonies had won something that they had not originally set out to win—the complete independence which they had only demanded when they had been driven to the conclusion that without it they could not win the liberties on which they were determined. Canada remained in the Empire, and later gained in full measure the liberties for which in the eighteenth century she had no desire. To every one else concerned the war brought nothing but evil — unless we reckon that Great Britain had been taught a wholesome if bitter lesson by which she was to profit in the future; the lesson that British subjects oversea have the same rights of directing their own destinies as British subjects within the four seas.

The fruits of war.

For the British Empire had been torn in two, and had raised on the other side of the Atlantic a nation of its own blood which for years to come was to feel for it the hostility which is born of family feuds, the hostility of brothers who have quarrelled angrily over a needless misunderstanding, each insisting on his own rights and blind to the rights of the other. Spain and Holland had wasted blood and treasure on a useless struggle. And France, playing at a passionate love of the liberty of which her own people had no experience, did not guess that she was forging a weapon for the overthrow of her whole social and political system; nor realise that the immense cost of the war had loaded her with a burden of debt which was to bring on her first bankruptcy and then red revolution. And her sole reward was the sense that she had helped to humiliate and wound but had failed to crush the rival who had baulked her own imperial ambitions.

VI. Ireland: 1714-1782.

The Government System, 1714-60—Standing Grievances—New Demands, 1761-77—Concessions, 1778-80—Grattan's Parliament, 1782.

WHEN George, Elector of Hanover, came to the British throne in 1714, England and Scotland were already united; Great Britain had not only one king as in the seventeenth century, but one parliament. The Union was not really secure till more than thirty years passed, because half Scotland still hankered for its old independence and wished for the return of the old Scottish dynasty, the House of Stewart, which had reigned in Scotland for more than two hundred years before her king succeeded to the throne of England. But when, after the 'Forty-five,' all chance of a Stewart restoration disappeared, Scotland settled down to complete acceptance of the Union, and made the most of all the commercial advantages she enjoyed under it; while so far as Scottish affairs were concerned the British parliament never attempted to override the will of the Scottish representatives. The Union became an unqualified success, and Scotland had in a sense no separate history.

1. Scotland and England united.

Far otherwise was it with Ireland. The king of Great Britain was king of Ireland too, but Ireland had no representation in the British parliament. It would not be unreasonable to say that every grievance which existed in any part of the British dominions was present in Ireland in an intensified form, while she had others as well peculiar to herself—some of them very long standing, and some directly due to the iniquitous settlement made in the reign of William III.

Ireland's grievances, 1714-60.

In the first place, Ireland was governed by a lord-lieutenant, ministers and officials, over whom she had no control at all. In England ministers and officials had been answerable to the king during the seventeenth century, but after the Revolution of 1688 they had become answerable to parliament—if they did not satisfy parliament they could not remain in office. But in Ireland, though there was a law-making Assembly which was called a parliament, it had hardly any power except that of passing or rejecting, without altering, any Bill that was laid before it by the ministers. And the ministers themselves could not bring in a Bill except in a form already approved by, or changed to suit the taste of, the British—not the Irish—Privy Council.

The Government.

Further, to prevent any possible doubt, the British parliament under George I. passed a Declaratory Act (like that of the Rockinghams in 1766) claiming for itself the right to make laws for Ireland and to impose taxes on her without consulting the Irish parliament at all.

Again, powerless as the Irish parliament was, it was the only legal body in Ireland which could pretend to express the will of the Irish people; and it represented only a small fraction of them, a privileged fraction, itself in antagonism with the great mass of the people on account of religion; since no Roman Catholic had a vote, although four people out of five in Ireland were Catholics. The Catholics in England and Scotland had the same grievance, but in Great Britain nine-tenths of the population were Protestants. Finally, in Ireland as in England at that time, a few magnates, known as the 'Undertakers,' could make sure, among them, of securing a big majority of seats in their House of Commons for their own followers and supporters. This however made little difference during the thirty-three years of George II.'s reign, because for Ireland there was no Septennial Act, and in all that time there was no General Election, after the first year. The parliament then elected was not dissolved till the king's death.

The Parliament.

NEXT we have the bitter grievance of the Catholics—four-fifths of the population—against a Protestant government, a small minority, which held them in very harsh subjection. The penal laws passed when the Irish and English parliaments tore up the Capitulation of Limerick in the days of William III. forbade Catholics to have their children taught by Catholics, forbade them to carry arms, or to own horses of any value, forced all their estates to be broken up by being divided among the children—unless any of them turned Protestant, in which case the whole estate went to the convert—and shut them entirely out of every sort of public life.

2. The Catholics.

This was bad enough; but most fatal of all was the 'economic' grievance. Hardly any one in Ireland could make a living except from the land. The Americans complained because American trade was hampered by laws made in England to prevent their goods from competing with English goods; but in Ireland trade and manufactures, except the linen industry, were throttled. The vast majority of the Irish were peasants living on the soil; out of what they raised they had to pay rent; and the more they raised, the higher went the rent. Whatever they did, they could do no more than earn a bare

The trade grievance.

living, because everything beyond a bare living—and that at best was little enough—went into the landlord's pocket. In England landlords and tenants were on friendly terms, and the tenant usually paid a fixed rent which could not be increased; so long as he paid it he could not be turned out; and if a man improved his holding and made it more profitable, he reaped the profit himself. In Ireland most of the great estates belonged to 'absentee' landlords who lived in England, never saw their tenants, and left them to the tender mercies of agents who considered that their duty was to extract as much as possible from the peasant for the benefit of the landlord. Whatever rent he demanded, the tenant had to pay—or go; and there was nowhere else to go. Finally, to make matters worse, the landlords—as in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—found grazing and pasture more profitable than agriculture; and tenants were turned out of their holdings to make way for sheep and cattle.

The land.

And all this was the outcome of laws made for the Irish by the English for the benefit of Englishmen and the convenience of the English government, by Protestants for the benefit of Protestants at the price of gross injustice to Catholics. Catholics and peasantry, being unrepresented in parliament, were powerless to obtain any change in the laws which oppressed them; the Irish government, the British government, the landlords—at least the 'absentees'—and the agents, every one concerned with enforcing the unjust laws, the laws themselves, all were hateful to them. Rebellion was impossible; and therefore there grew up among them secret societies and leagues for defying and breaking the law. And in the small ruling class itself there were increasing numbers who saw and wished to remedy the double injustice—the subjection of the Catholic majority to the Protestant minority, and the subjection of Irish opinion to English opinion.

Helplessness.

THIS was the situation in Ireland when George III. became king, the old parliament was dissolved, and a new parliament was summoned. The new parliament was determined to claim for itself in Ireland the rights which its sister parliament at Westminster claimed for itself, and exercised, in Great Britain, as the inalienable birthright of Britons. Its demands were, that the Irish parliament should work its own money-bills, that there should be a new parliament at least every seven years as in England, that Ireland

3. New demands.

like England should have a Habeas Corpus Act securing immediate trial for persons arrested on charges of law-breaking, and that, as in England, the judges should be removable only on the demand of the two Houses of the Irish parliament. In 1768 an Octennial or Eight Years Act instead of a Septennial Act was conceded, but the other demands were refused. All that the Irish parliament could do was to reject the money-bills sent over from England.

This was going on at the time when the British Government was quarrelling with the American colonies over the question of taxation; there was a strong likeness between the American grievances and those of which the Irish parliament was complaining. Under the new Octennial Act there was a new Irish parliament in 1771. The opposition in it to British control was stronger than in the last, and was headed by Henry Flood. It demanded, not a general land-tax—there was no land-tax in Ireland though in England it was the biggest source of revenue—but a tax on the estates of absentee landlords. The absentee, it was argued, did nothing for Ireland, drew his money from Ireland, and spent it in England. Since he neglected his duties to Ireland, whether with or without good reason, it was only fair that he should pay. England rejected the proposal, because in fact most of the absentees were men who also had big estates in England (many of them belonged to the great Whig families and especially to the Rockingham group); they could not live in both countries, and ought not to be either punished for preferring their English estates, or forced to neglect them in order to escape the penalty of absenteeism. Though Chatham supported the Irish as well as the American demand for self-taxation, the Rockinghams took the side of the absentees, the resident landlords in Ireland were frightened by a hint that if the absentee-tax were passed it might be followed up by a general land-tax which they too would have to pay; and the proposal was dropped.

The absentee-tax.

ALMOST all Ireland approved of the absentee-tax, taken by itself; really its defeat was due to the antagonism of the English Whigs. The fact had been ingeniously veiled by inducing the Irish magnates to resist it through fear of what might follow. The British Government however was now going warily. It could not risk driving the Irish leaders to adopt the American attitude; they were actually assuming an almost ostentatious loyalty, in contrast with the colonies, which made it impossible to refuse a hearing to their claims.

4. Concessions.

Flood himself accepted office, which silenced him as a leader of opposition, and his place was taken by Henry Grattan, a Protestant with a broad sympathy for his Catholic countrymen. In 1778 North's Government, alarmed by the entry of France into the war, yielded a point in the penal laws; the law which gave the whole estate of a Roman Catholic family to the child or children who turned Protestant was repealed—in spite of the British 'no-popery' sentiment which brought about the 'Gordon riots' when a similar measure was introduced in England (1780), so called from their half-crazy leader Lord George Gordon. There was also (in 1778) a relaxation of the anti-Irish trade regulations; Ireland was at last admitted to share with England and Scotland the benefit of the Navigation Act; her ships and ports enjoyed the same privileges as those of Great Britain, though the short-sighted resistance of English mercantile interests, their dread of Irish competition, prevented any larger concession—just as dread of Scottish trade competition had stood in the way of the Union between England and Scotland eighty years earlier.

The volunteers.

But, as we saw in an earlier chapter, from 1778 onwards Great Britain was fighting for her life against a steadily increasing ring of enemies. She could not afford at any price to drive Ireland to rebellion. The Irish leaders saw their opportunity. So far from threatening rebellion, the Protestants raised regiments of volunteers for defence, so that no regular troops need be detained in the country; the Catholic gentry joined the loyalist movement, in the only way they could since they were forbidden to serve in arms, by subscribing money freely. The British Government dared not check a loyalist movement, but—Ireland was in arms. If the demands of these loyal people were still refused to them, would they remain loyal? Here was a danger which could not be set at naught. There was no doubt whatever that the loyalists, however loyal, were set upon winning what they regarded with strong reason as their just rights—what the English in England regarded as their own indisputable rights—commercial equality, and the right of the Irish parliament, not that of Great Britain, to manage Irish legislation and control the Irish government.

Protestant dissenters.

There was still another Irish grievance which has not yet been mentioned. Of the Irish Protestants, especially in Ulster, the majority were dissenters of English Puritan or Scottish Presbyterian descent. They, as well as Catholics, suffered the same political disabilities as English dissenters under the Test Act which

was the law of Ireland (though not of Scotland) as well as of England; the repeal of the Test Act for Ireland was strongly demanded.

5. Grattan's Parliament, 1782.

So in 1780 the British Government did away with most of the commercial restrictions. The demands for the independence of the Irish legislature, and for Catholic relief which was urged by Grattan, were still unfulfilled. At the end of 1781 came the fall of Yorktown. Once more the dangerous crisis was made the occasion in Ireland for a great demonstration of loyalty; but an enthusiastic assembly of the northern volunteers at Dungannon in February 1782 still called for legislative independence and relaxation of the 'penal code.' In March, North resigned and the second Rockingham ministry was formed in England. Loyal Ireland was demanding for herself what the Rockinghams had always said the Americans had a right to demand, and much less than they were now sure of winning by rebellion. The Irish demand could no longer be decently refused. The Declaratory Act of George I. was repealed, surrendering the claim of the parliament of Great Britain to legislate for Ireland; the control of the Privy Council over Bills presented in the Irish parliament was abolished. At last the independent legislature of Ireland —Grattan's Parliament—was established in Dublin.

VII. India: The New Problem, 1763-1774.

The Position in 1763—Misrule, 1761-65—Clive's Reforms, 1765-67—After Clive, 1767-73.

1. The position in 1763.

While the British Government in England, between 1763 and 1783, was quarrelling with the colonies and breaking the Empire in two, the British in India were establishing themselves as the strongest amongst the several dominions which were really independent Powers, though they all professed to recognise the Mogul at Delhi as their common sovereign.

Now in 1763 the British—that is to say, the East India Company—were legally the rulers only of Bombay, of Madras, of Fort William or Calcutta, and of the Sarkars which had been ceded to them by the Nizam. (It will be wise to keep open the first coloured map of India at the end of this volume while studying this section.) But at Calcutta they could and did control the government of the Nawab of Bengal; and at Madras they could, but did not, control the government of the Nawab of the Carnatic or Arcot. This altogether was only a small

part of India. Outside this area they had no authority, though they had a very strong influence over the Nizam of Haidarabad.

On the other hand, in the southern Deccan on the west of the Carnatic, a Mohammedan military adventurer was beginning to build up the great sultanate of Mysore, where he had usurped the power of the Hindu Raja. (As a general rule, where a native prince is called a Raja he is a Hindu, not a Mohammedan.) And about half of India was subject to the Mahrattas or Marathas, with whom the British had not yet come into direct collision. Luckily for the British, the Maratha dominion could not be called a state—the Marathas were ruled by several chiefs, who might or might not act together; and the Marathas ruled their dominions, in the sense not that they maintained law and order among their subjects, but that they forced them by the strong hand to pay tribute for keeping up Maratha armies. If they had become really united under one chief, they might have crushed the new British Power as soon as it was born. But—again, happily for the British—they met with a shattering blow at the hands of another Power just at the critical moment, in 1761. The Afghan Ahmed Shah invaded the north-west of India, marched to Delhi, and inflicted a terrific defeat on the Marathas at Panipat. Like Nadir Shah in 1739, Ahmed Shah retired after his victory, and only kept the Punjab as part of his own dominions. But it was many years before the Marathas recovered from the blow, and when they did come into conflict with the British they were defeated. Still for a long time they enjoyed the advantage —not perhaps very valuable—that the Mogul at Delhi was really in the hands of Sindhia, the northern Maratha chief whose principal city was the strong fortress of Gwalior; so that Sindhia could nearly always obtain the Mogul's authority for anything he wished to do.

Mysore.

The Marathas.

Thus it was that for several years after the destruction of the French as fighting rivals in India, the position of the British was challenged only by a Nawab of Bengal who resented his own subjection to their will, and a Nawab of Oudh who after this episode chose to place himself under their protection, and never swerved from his loyalty to them. The Nizam of Haidarabad and the Nawab of Oudh were too dependent on their aid against other foes to risk forfeiting their goodwill; Haidar was too busy consolidating his newly-won power to risk it on a contest with them; and the Marathas were only by degrees recovering from the disaster of Panipat.

Strength of the British.

CLIVE had departed for a time from India just when Eyre Coote was settling accounts with Lally. He left behind him, in charge of the small army, good soldiers who had been trained under his leadership, and understood their work thoroughly when fighting was to be done. But they were the servants of the East India Company; the Company's official managers, in Bengal and in Madras, were civilians, men who had entered its service as badly-paid clerks who were at liberty to add to their incomes by private enterprise and trading. The Company itself was a trading Company which wanted profits to divide among its shareholders; its affairs and its management were governed by its directors and its proprietors (the bigger shareholders) in London—who had their powers under the 'Charter' which was renewed regularly at intervals of some years; the British Government only interfered when it was called upon to supply troops or ships on their behalf. Now, these officials of a trading Company suddenly found that they had actually in their own hands the control of the government of the great province of Bengal. The natural result was that they made haste to use their power so as to enrich themselves and the Company, to compel the Nawab to grant them privileges which might be unjust to the Nawab's native subjects, and to extract presents for themselves from natives as the price of their goodwill. Clive himself had not demanded but had accepted very large presents (though he had refused a great deal more); these however he himself and every one else in India had regarded as reasonable rewards for the immense services he had rendered to the government and people of Bengal. But when Clive was gone, there was no one to control the greed of those who remained; the temptation to all but a few was irresistible; and the result was that the rule of the British in Bengal became for a time very bad.

2. The East India Company.

Misrule.

Matters became still worse, because the Nawab they had set up, Mir Jafar, grew more restive; they deposed him and set up another, Mir Cossim; Mir Cossim turned on them, massacred some of them at Patna, and fled to Oudh. Thereupon the Oudh Wazir or Nawab made his last attempt to strike at the British, entering Behar with a large army. Then Colonel Hector Munro, having first suppressed rigorously a mutiny among the sepoys, marched against him with a small force, as Clive had marched to Plassey, and, as at Plassey, routed him completely at Buxar, the second of the victories which decided the fate of Bengal (October 1764).

Buxar, 1764.

The British were masters again; and now they made Mir Jafar's son Nawab. Six months later—in 1765—Clive landed again in India for the last time. The reports which reached England from Bengal induced the Company to send him out with full powers to restore order, acting on his own judgment. He stayed a little more than eighteen months—till the beginning of 1767. During that time he laid the real foundations of the British Dominion in India. In the earlier time, it was not the East India Company that ruled in Bengal but the individual Robert Clive, the hero of Arcot and the victor of Plassey. This time it was again Clive who ruled, but in such fashion that lesser men, provided that they were honest and public-spirited, could carry on a British government there when Clive himself had gone.

3. Clive's return, 1765.

Of course the disorderly and self-seeking men were opposed to him; but the better sort soon gave their support to the man whom no dangers or difficulties could daunt, who sought nothing for himself, swift and clear of judgment, swift and vigorous in action, just to the utmost of his power in all that he did—whatever might be thought about things he had done in the past. He forbade the receiving of presents; he forbade the private trading of the Company's servants—the two great temptations to misuse of their power; though he tried to give them some compensation by securing for them the salt-monopoly, the sole right of trading in salt, which would have given them enough to relieve them from the actual need of finding other means of adding to their insufficient incomes. He restored the discipline of the army which had become discontented and half-mutinous. He made the Nawab and his officers feel—as before—that if they did not govern decently, things would be unpleasant for them. He cleared out the most dangerous of the Company's servants; to the best of them he made clear—as he did to the directors in England—the policy which ought to be followed, himself setting the example.

His reforms.

Two sides of this policy we must understand. First, in relation to the other Powers in India, there was to be no extension of British territory. The goodwill of the immediate neighbours—Oudh in the north, and the Nizam in the Deccan—was to be sought, and they were to be taught to rely on British support against the attacks of the more aggressive but more distant Powers of the Marathas and Haidar Ali. Secondly, the British must understand that they had made themselves morally responsible for good government in Bengal and that their duty as rulers to its people must not be shirked.

His policy.

With these ends in view, Clive made friends with the Oudh Wazir. Instead of annexing Oudh territory—which after Buxar would have been quite justified by ordinary practice—he gave back what had actually been taken from the Wazir in the hour of victory before his own return. From that time the Wazir always understood that the British would uphold him against other enemies, so long as he was loyal to them.

No less important was the measure which gave the British a legal as well as a moral responsibility in Bengal. Clive procured from the Mogul himself the *Diwani* of the province. This needs explaining. The Diwani means the control of the revenue and finances. Parliament in England had grown into the governing body in the realm because it possessed and kept a tight hold upon the control of the national revenue, the 'power of the purse.' Whoever controls the revenue must have at least a very strong influence over the Government. Having received the Diwani from the Mogul, the legal emperor of India, the Company became legally responsible not to the Nawab but to the emperor himself, for the financial management of Bengal—that is, they were to all intents and purposes the supreme legal authority, having none over them except the Mogul, as concerned finance and everything involved by the control of finance. They could no longer pretend that they had no responsibility—no duty to the people, or that if troubles arose no one could hold them to blame.

The Diwani.

It had not however been in Clive's power, when he left India, to create a 'constitution,' a regular system of government for the British in India. The authorities at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were all independent of each other. Bombay hitherto had taken no active part in any of the contests of the last five-and-twenty years. Madras did not concern itself with Hindustan — northern India—nor Bengal with the Deccan. At home, people were beginning to wake up to the idea that since a British commercial Company had become practically lord over a population in India considerably larger than that of the British Isles, the British Government could not escape some responsibility for the British Company's doings.

4. After Clive.

More time passed, after Clive's departure, before the Bengal officials gave up shirking their new duties and really took up the task of organising the government of Bengal—the young Nawab having cheerfully handed over to them his own authority, which he did not in the least desire to exercise so long as he had enough money to spend on display and on amusements. Nor was the Company in England pleased

that its officials should be spending their own energies and the Company's revenues on the new business of governing. But the sense of responsibility was growing; parliament took to debating Indian affairs, and might interfere more zealously unless the Company acted up to its new position. In 1769 it proclaimed its full acceptance of the duties of the Diwani, and in 1772 it appointed Warren Hastings Governor of Bengal.

It was indeed time to take active measures if the Company hoped for a renewal of their Charter on satisfactory terms. Consciences were being troubled about India. Indian officials were coming home startlingly rich—such men were popularly known as 'nabobs' (a corruption of Nawab), and were beginning, by reason of their wealth, to exercise much political influence. There had just been a terrific famine in Bengal causing great loss of life; a parliamentary inquiry was demanded. Clive himself was attacked, and though his defence was so convincing that parliament instead of condemning him passed a resolution declaring that he had rendered great services to the State, the whole question of the administration of affairs in India continued to agitate the public mind.

The British conscience.

And so in the year following the appointment of Hastings as Governor of Bengal, parliament provided the Company's territories in India with a new Constitution, under Lord North's Regulating Act; which still left the general control of affairs in the hands of the Company, but gave to the 'Governor-General of Bengal' and the Bengal Government a certain authority over the other two 'Presidencies,' set up in Bengal a new legal system which was not under the Company's control, appointed for the Governor-General a Council in which he might be out-voted, and named as the first Governor-General the recently appointed Governor of Bengal, Warren Hastings.

North's Regulating Act, 1773.

VIII. India: Warren Hastings, 1772-1785.

Hastings in Bengal—The Marathas—Mysore.

HASTINGS was Governor only of Bengal from 1772 to 1774, and for ten years more he was Governor-General under North's Regulating Act. Almost throughout his Governor-Generalship, Great Britain was plunged in the War of American Independence, and could spare neither ships, men, nor money for operations in India. All the time the Company at home was clamouring for larger profits and less expenditure. All the time the Presidencies of Madras

1. What Hastings did.

and Bombay were making blunders and getting into difficulties from which the Governor-General had to find the way out, raising the necessary money as best he could. And most of the time he was desperately hampered by a Council in which he, with one loyal supporter, was habitually out-voted by the other three members, who bombarded the directors and the Government at home with reports denouncing Hastings himself and his policy. Nevertheless when he returned to England in 1785, he left India with the British firmly established as a leading Power, and Bengal with at least the lines laid down for a just and stable government. To save the British from destruction he was driven to shifts which could only be excused on the ground that but for them destruction could not have been escaped, and his reward was impeachment; but in India he won the undying respect and admiration of princes and people.

Preparing the way.

Before Hastings became Governor, the British acceptance of the Bengal Diwani was a very makeshift affair; the business was still carried on in the old fashion by the same native officials as before. The first work to be done was the setting up of a new system under which dishonesty would be checked and fair taxes—of which much the most important was the land-tax—would be fairly levied. The English knew nothing about the rights of the peasants and the 'zemindars' who seemed to be what landlords were in England. So in preparation for a new system, Hastings appointed British officials called Collectors to collect the taxes in each district of the province, in place of the natives many of whom had been accused of dishonesty; and he set up a commission of inquiry to find out what the real native laws about the land were, and how much taxation would really be fair. At the same time he set up British courts of justice with British 'magistrates,' besides the native courts.

The Rohillas.

His next act as Governor was more questionable. In the north-west of Oudh, called Rohilkhand, the Rohillas—Mohammedan tribesmen—had, during the last forty years, made themselves masters of the Hindus who were there before them. The Wazir of Oudh had a grudge against the Rohillas, and suspected them of being in league with the Marathas against him. He told Hastings that unless the Rohillas were suppressed, he—and after him the British—would be in great danger from the Marathas; and he offered a big price for the help of British troops. Hastings, badly in need of money, accepted the offer, being easily persuaded that the suppression of the Rohillas was necessary. British troops helped to crush them, and the Company

in return received a substantial sum of money—which satisfied the directors that the action of Hastings had been justified. But in the eyes of some historians—especially Macaulay—the suppression of the Rohillas was a great crime.

In 1774 arrived the members of the Governor-General's Council. It was not the Governor-General himself, but the 'Governor-General in Council'—like 'the King in Parliament'—who formed the supreme authority; and whatever Hastings wished to do the majority of the Council opposed. Besides the Council there came the new Judges sent out from England with instructions of their own under the Regulating Act. They claimed that they were not under the Company or the Council, but were bound to enforce the law according to their own views of it. Thus there were three distinct British authorities in Bengal—the Council, the Judges, and the Governor-General—all perpetually in violent disagreement with each other, at a time when the most steady, clear-headed, and firm government was particularly necessary. Only the ability and tenacity of Hastings saved the situation.

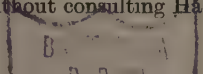
2. Under the new Act.

The great trouble now was started by Bombay. While Madras first and then Bengal had been very much to the front during the last thirty years, Bombay had remained in the background. Bombay felt that it was time to assert her own importance; and the Marathas gave her the opportunity which she seized.

There were five chiefs of the great Maratha Confederacy—each of them jealous of the other four. In the north, Sindhia at Gwalior was chiefly concerned to keep the Mogul at Delhi under his own control. Next to him, still north of the Nerbudda, was Holkar at Indore, and west of Holkar was the Gaekwar at Baroda. South of them, half encircling the Nizam's dominions, lay Bhonsla the 'Berar Raja' at Nagpore, and the Peshwa at Poona. There was a prince of the old royal House at Satara, but he did not count; his authority had passed to the Peshwas who had been and still professed to be his chief ministers. The Peshwa was looked upon as the head of the whole Confederacy, but had no real control over the other four.

Bombay and the Marathas.

Now in 1774 the succession to the office of Peshwa was in dispute between the baby son and the uncle of the last Peshwa. The uncle, commonly known as Ragoba, appealed to the British at Bombay to support his claim. Without consulting Hastings—as they were bound



to do under the Regulating Act—the Bombay authorities promised help, and signed with Ragoba the treaty of Surat. Hastings felt bound to stand by the treaty, since British honour had been pledged by Bombay. The Council insisted on throwing over the treaty, and making the treaty of Purandar with the other party at Poona. Then —just when France was on the point of taking part in the American war—a French adventurer was welcomed at Poona.

Hastings at last could take his own way because Sir Philip Francis, his chief opponent on the Council, had gone home. Hastings had meanwhile made friends with Bhonsla; now he approved a new treaty with Ragoba, and despatched a force across India from Bengal to support Bombay and Ragoba.

Hastings acts.

Before this force under Goddard could arrive, Bombay had set its own troops moving; they had been caught in a trap by Sindhia (1779), who then compelled Bombay to withdraw the demands which Ragoba had promised to satisfy. Madhoji Sindhia was a very able chief, who always avoided committing himself definitely to any side—but just at this time he thought the prospects of the British and Ragoba unpromising.

Very soon Sindhia changed his mind; Goddard's arrival showed that the British were still to be reckoned with, in spite of the failure of Bombay. Goddard's military movements scattered the forces of Holkar who was acting with Sindhia, and his diplomacy secured the goodwill of Gaekwar as well as Bhonsla. Another small British force entered Sindhia's northern territories. Sindhia would probably have come to terms at once, if a new enemy had not just at this moment (1780) arisen against the British, Haidar Ali of Mysore.

3. Haidar Ali.

This time the trouble had been caused not by Bombay but by Madras, which had succeeded in irritating both Haidar and the Nizam by making and breaking promises first to one and then to the other. The Nizam thought it safer to come to terms with Haidar than to rely on support from Madras; Haidar had already decided that France, though she had no troops in India, might again take an active part against the British. As Britain was now at war with France, the Madras authorities sent an expedition across Haidar's territory to seize the French port of Mahé on the west coast. In alliance with the Nizam Haidar suddenly flung a huge devastating army upon the Carnatic.

Madras had not made ready for the deluge; small British detach-

ments were cut up or put to hasty flight; the Mysore hordes swept over the country, but for the time no direct attack was made on Madras itself. The Nizam as usual left the work to his ally and made no active move. Goddard held in check the western Marathas, whose aid Haidar had expected; Bhonsla did nothing.

Before the end of the year the energy of Hastings had despatched a force from Bengal, under command of the veteran Eyre Coote, the victor of Wandewash twenty years earlier. The other small force operating in Sindhia's territory startled all India by capturing Gwalior, a feat which the Marathas had supposed to be impossible. Sindhia decided that it would be sound policy to seek agreement with Hastings. In 1781, Eyre Coote again justified his great reputation by twice routing Haidar's armies. The mismanagement in Madras was ended by the arrival of a new and vigorous governor, Lord Macartney, who was able to send out the expedition which took Negapatam from the Dutch, with whom the British were now at war as well as with the French and the Americans.

Eyre Coote.

So at the moment when Yorktown fell in America the British power in India seemed to have weathered the great crisis, though Haidar himself was still by no means beaten. Nevertheless during 1782 there was an anxious moment when the French squadron of Admiral Suffren appeared in Indian waters—he had sailed before Rodney's victory—and fought a series of stubborn engagements with the British commander Hughes, in which the advantage lay on the whole, though not decisively, with the French. Coote could not crush Haidar; Haidar could not crush Coote. Then Coote fell ill; but Haidar—an old man now—died; the son Tippu Sahib who succeeded him lacked his ability, though not his ambition; at the end of the year Britain and France were negotiating the Peace; all the Maratha chiefs came to terms with Hastings.

Suffren.

Thus in 1783 Tippu alone was still in the field. He would doubtless have been soundly beaten but that the control was taken out of the hands of Hastings. The opposition to him at home had grown so strong that the Madras government, always jealous, disregarded his authority, and acted for itself—making its own peace with the Mysore Sultan, on terms which Tippu took to mean that they regarded Mysore as the victor and themselves as the vanquished in the recent struggle.

Peace, 1783.

Warren Hastings left India at the beginning of 1785. On his arrival in England he was formally impeached as a tyrant and extortioner—

by no means the character he bore in the eyes of the natives of India. He was denounced by the most eloquent orators of the day, headed by Edmund Burke, and fifty years later by the most popular English historian of the nineteenth century, Lord Macaulay. Sounder and less biassed judgments have pronounced that the great Governor-General was one of whom England should not be ashamed but proud. The charge made by Macaulay that he and the Judge Elijah Impey between them compassed the death of his personal enemy Nuncomar has been completely disproved. The best-informed critics hold that he was fully justified in joining in the suppression of the Rohillas. If the British were not to be wiped out of India, he had to act at times with a harshness which passed beyond the limits of justice. He had not yet learnt that Englishmen ruling over peoples of different race and customs must not act upon the lower moral standards of those races but on the recognised standards of the Western world; and, more than this, that when British troops or officials are acting in support of native Powers, it must be on condition that the officials and troops of those Powers will also act upon the European standards. That principle has always been held to firmly since his time, because his experience proved that it was necessary. But Hastings was working under such conditions as had never been known before; there was no past experience to guide him; he had no support or help from outside, and the colleagues who ought to have helped him only increased his difficulties—often of set purpose. But he piloted the ship safe to harbour in spite of all.

Warren Hastings.

IX. The British Government: 1780-1788.

The Defeat of George III.—The Coalition—Pitt's India Act—Incidents.

King George had made his great effort to recover for the Crown the political leadership of the nation. In 1770 he had defeated both the main divisions of the old 'Whig connection,' the Bedford (or Grenville) group and the Rockingham group; the rest of the Whigs had joined the new party created by George himself, the 'King's Friends,' and that party commanded a secure majority in both Houses of Parliament. He had defeated Chatham; who declined to lead the Rockinghams though they would have accepted his leadership, while he was flatly opposed both to the King's Friends and the Bedfords. The Bedfords and Rockinghams could not unite, because

1. The King's rule.

they were flatly opposed to each other on the leading political question, American policy. Therefore for ten years King George's government was irresistible—there was no alternative to it possible.

Yet by 1780 the feeling that it was intolerable had risen to a dangerous pitch. It was quite obvious that it kept its majorities in parliament, and in the constituencies, simply by means of the machinery of corruption. The Whigs had used that machinery under Walpole and Newcastle; now that the king had turned it against them, they became alive to its iniquity—as Chatham had always been. A demand arose for Parliamentary Reform and what was called Economic Reform. Parliamentary reform meant mainly a rearrangement of the constituencies that would abolish the 'pocket boroughs,' for which a few magnates could ensure that the candidates chosen by themselves would be returned to the House of Commons. Economic reform meant the abolition of the 'places' and 'pensions' which were bestowed as the reward of obedient voting, on members of parliament and their friends without any expectation of other public service from the holders.

Demand for reforms.

So in 1780 Burke introduced a Bill for economic reform; but nothing came of it, because, though every one agreed that it was the right thing, more than half the members held places or pensions, no one wanted his own to be abolished, and no one could hope to keep his own if he voted for the abolition of his neighbour's. On the question of parliamentary reform there was the same difficulty. No one who either owned or sat for a pocket borough wanted to have it abolished. On the other hand, the desire for some reform which would weaken the growing power of the Crown was shown when the Commons—in spite of the King's Friends—carried what is known as 'Dunning's Resolution' that 'the Power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.'

But even that did not lead to anything directly. A General Election still gave George and North their majority. It was not till the fall of Yorktown in 1781 that North himself refused any longer to be responsibile for the government, and George was obliged to recall Rockingham. From that hour the king was never again master of parliament; it demanded ministers in whom it had a confidence which could not be bought by pensions, though none could rule long without the king's support, as Pitt had been unable to rule till he had Newcastle's support. Two years after North's resignation (March 1782), the man had been found who could command both the

The Crown defeated.

confidence of parliament and the support of the king—Chatham's second son, the younger William Pitt. But Pitt was not, as North had been, a mere instrument for carrying out George's will. It was Pitt's judgment, not George's, that directed policy. The king had found by painful experience that the minister he needed must be not a pliant tool but a strong man.

2. The Coalition of North and Fox.

In 1782 Pitt was only twenty-three. He had already made his mark in parliament, but was not yet a leader. Rockingham died at midsummer, and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Shelburne, an able statesman who was however never trusted by any one except the king. A section of the Whigs, headed by Charles James Fox, broke away from him, and young Pitt joined the ministry. But North and his followers now turned bitterly against the king. Fox and North, long enemies, now joined forces; the Shelburne ministry could not stand against them, and its place was taken early in 1783 by the Coalition ministry of Fox and North, who agreed in very little except antagonism to Shelburne and the king.

Fox's India Bill, 1783.

Between them they commanded a big majority. But they wrecked themselves over Fox's India Bill. Events in India had proved that the plan of government set up there by North's Regulating Act was one which would not work; Fox proposed a new plan. The power of the Governor-General was to be greater; but he was still to be responsible to the East India Company at home; and on the other hand a new body was to be formed, appointed by the ministry, having an authority superior to that of the Company's directors and proprietors. It appeared that Fox expected, in the first place, to gain the support of the 'Nabobs' in England whose money would secure the return of 'government' candidates to the House of Commons, and help the Coalition in office permanently; and secondly, that the rights of chartered companies generally would be in danger if the Bill were carried. A storm of opposition rose, outside parliament; the Bill was nevertheless carried easily in the Commons. But George saw his chance of ridding himself of the Coalition. Although it was utterly unconstitutional for the king to exercise direct influence over the voting in parliament, he made it known that he would regard any peer who voted for the Bill as his personal enemy. The result was that it was defeated in the Lords by a small majority. Thereupon George dismissed the Coalition, and Pitt at the age of twenty-four became Prime Minister.

He had hardly any supporters in the Commons; the most brilliant speakers of the day were on the other side. Single-handed he fought them for a few weeks, hopelessly as it seemed, in parliament. But outside, the tide was rising in his favour. He could not carry on; but instead of resigning, he appealed to the country. The year 1784 opened with a General Election, and when it was over the Coalition candidates were nowhere, Pitt's supporters forming a huge majority in the Commons. For seventeen years his rule remained unbroken. Even then he resigned only because he had pledged himself to a measure which the king conceived it to be his own duty to veto, even if it cost him his crown—a measure which otherwise would undoubtedly have been carried in parliament.

Pitt takes office.

For eight years Pitt ruled as a peace-minister; and for the rest of his life as a war-minister, except during the short period when he was out of office from 1801 to 1804. But through the last three years of his peace-ministry, the war-cloud was rising and spreading, for in 1789 began in France the Revolution which was to set all Europe ablaze. Its opening was one of the epochs, the turning-points in the world's history, involving every nation in Europe. From the moment when the 'States-General' met, its progress affected the policy and actions of every government; and therefore it is only down to that point that we shall carry the story of Pitt's administration in the present chapter, and of British progress under the House of Hanover in the next.

3. The reign of Pitt.

Pitt was brought into power by the defeat of the Coalition on the question of Fox's India Bill. The first task before the head of the Government was to provide a new Bill to take its place. The Constitution provided by Pitt's India Act of 1784 was that under which British India was to be ruled until 1858. There were three grand difficulties which had to be solved, or reconciled. It was necessary that the British Government in India should have the power to act promptly and energetically without waiting for instructions from England; under the Regulating Act it had been almost impossible for it to do so. The rights and the authority of the Chartered Company had to be recognised—this was the rock upon which Fox's Bill had been wrecked. And both these authorities had to be reconciled with the moral responsibility of the British Government at home for the actions of British subjects abroad, ruling over populations differing from them utterly in race, in colour, in religion, and in their traditions.

Pitt's India Act.

Broadly, the solution was this. The Governor-General and his Council were to be free to act on their own judgment; unlike Hastings, the Governor-General had the actual decision in his own hands, unless the whole of his Council opposed him. But the lines of his policy were laid down for him by the India House, the Company, in London. If he departed from their instructions, he was bound to inform them of his reasons for doing so; and if his reasons did not satisfy them, he might be recalled—therefore in departing from instructions he was taking a considerable risk; nothing but a serious emergency would justify him in doing so. In the third place, the Government accepted its own moral responsibility by appointing an authority above the Company, a Board of Control; but its members went out of office when the British ministry which appointed it went out of office—it could do nothing to keep that ministry in power. It would not interfere ordinarily with the Company's or the Governor-General's freedom of action, but it reserved the power to do so if, in its judgment, the need should arise. If friction arose between the Governor-General and the Company, he could in effect appeal to the Board of Control.

A new Indian Constitution.

Thus the work of the Indian government was in the hands of the Governor-General; but he was responsible to the Company, who gave him instructions; and both were responsible to the Board, which only gave direct instructions in exceptional cases, and was itself responsible to parliament.

Pitt and his rival Fox both desired parliamentary reform; but too many people in both Houses of Parliament were interested in maintaining the pocket boroughs for Reform Bills to have a chance of passing—though Chatham had given a warning long before that if the Houses did not reform the system of their own free will, they would sooner or later find themselves forced to do it in more unpleasant fashion. The main importance of what Pitt did during these years lay in his new methods of taxation — of which Walpole had set the example, though he had not ventured far along the path, finding that the short-sightedness of the traders prevented them from seeing the wisdom of his measures. But this very important subject will be dealt with in another chapter. Here it is enough to say that the merchants were coming round to the views formerly held by Walpole and now proclaimed by Pitt, and that under both those ministers the wealth of the traders and the revenues of the State were

4. Pitt's finance.

greatly increased. It was largely due to their management of finance in the years of peace that in both cases Great Britain was able to bear infinitely better than any other country the terrific financial strain of the wars which followed. But Pitt's credit is the greater, because Walpole had twenty years of peace to develop an already thriving commerce; Pitt had only eight years of peace to restore the wealth of a country exhausted by a war in which it had come perilously near to destruction.

In foreign affairs one event has to be noted, the importance of which will presently appear. The great Netherlands port of Antwerp stands on the River Scheldt. But the exclusive navigation of the river between Antwerp and the sea had been long ago given by treaty to Holland, lest Antwerp should be used as a naval base to injure her. Now Antwerp, with the rest of the Austrian Netherlands, belonged to the Austrian Emperor Joseph; in 1785 he wished to make Holland give up her control, and to open the Scheldt. Neither England nor France approved, because Antwerp as a naval base would be a threat to either of them in the Channel. France intervened, and signed a treaty (1785) guaranteeing afresh the Dutch control of the Scheldt; with the support of Great Britain, and Prussia which afterwards gave the guarantee. Seven years later, in 1792, France had reasons for wishing the Scheldt to be opened, and by tearing up the treaty she had signed in 1785 forced Great Britain to war.

The Scheldt Treaties.

Finally, almost by accident, a continent to which no Europeans had hitherto laid claim, which none had explored, and where none had attempted to settle, was annexed to the British Empire in the first days of 1788, when a convict settlement was planted in Australia.

Australia.

SUMMARIES

Acts of Parliament and Treaties, 1763-1789.

Stamp Act, 1765, required official stamps of various values to be attached to all legal documents in the American colonies, the proceeds going to the British revenue.

Quebec Act, 1774, retained in Canada the endowments of the Roman Catholic Church of which the whole French population were members. Retained the French civil law, but established the English criminal law. Government in the hands of a nominated Governor and Council.

Boston Port Act, 1774, closed the port of Boston, while another Act suspended the Massachusetts Charter.

North's Regulating Act, 1773: first attempt to provide a constitution for the East India Company's government of Indian territories. The Governor of Bengal was to be Governor-General, with authority over the other two Presidencies of Bengal and Madras, as concerned their relations with native Powers. The Governor-General in Council was the supreme authority, subject to instructions from the directors of the East India Company in England. There were four members of Council besides the Governor-General, whose will could be overridden by that of three members forming a majority. All were appointed in England. A Supreme Court of Judges was also appointed, to administer English law, a court which claimed to be responsible only to the Crown, and to be entirely independent of the Governor-General's authority.

Pitt's India Act, 1784, placed the direct government of Indian territory in the hands of the Governor-General in Council. But in emergencies the Governor-General could act without consulting his Council; and, as there were only three other members instead of four, while he had a casting vote on an equal division, he could not be overridden so long as one member supported him. In England the 'India House,' *i.e.* the authorities of the East India Company, continued to issue their instructions to the government in India. The regular appointments were in its hands, while any that the Governor-General thought fit to make required its sanction. The Governor-General could act without instructions or even against instructions, but did so at his own peril, *i.e.* at the risk of being recalled and punished and having his acts reversed. On the other hand, the responsibility of the State was recognised by creating a standing authority higher than that of the India House and directly answerable to parliament—a small committee called the Board of Control, whose president must be a member of the Cabinet, going out of office with the ministry. It was generally the business of this committee not to initiate but to supervise, modify, or supplement the instructions and despatches of the India House, while it could actually supersede them with instructions of its own. Elasticity and compromise between the Board of Control, the India House, and the Governor-General were the basis of the whole system.

Treaty of Versailles, 1783, recognised the independence of the thirteen colonies. Minorca was retained by Spain which had recaptured it; Britain kept Negapatam which she had taken from the Dutch. Otherwise there were no territorial changes. The boundaries between the new American Republic and the British Dominions were broadly defined, but the details were left to subsequent commissions.

Chronology: 1760-1789.

1760. Smeaton's blast-furnace.
1761. Bridgwater Canal.
1763-65. Grenville-Bedford Ministry.
1763. Wilkes and No. 45.
1765. Stamp Act.
1765-66. Rockingham Ministry.
1766. Stamp Act repealed.
Clive obtains the Diwani of Bengal.
1766-70. Grafton Ministry.
Chatham takes office.
1767. Townshend's taxes.
1768. Chatham leaves the ministry.
1768-69. The Middlesex Elections.
1769. The Tea-tax retained.
Corsica annexed to France.
Arkwright's water-power spinning jenny.
1770-82. North's Ministry.
1772. *First Partition of Poland.*
1773. The Boston Tea-party.
North's (India) Regulating Act.
1774-85. Warren Hastings, Governor-General.
1775-83. War of American Independence.
1775. Battle of Bunker Hill.
1776. British occupy New York.
Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* published.
Watt's first successful steam-engine.
1777. Surrender at Saratoga.
1778. France enters the war.
1779. Spain enters the war.
Iron bridge over Severn.
1780. Dunning's Revolution.
Gordon Riots.
Armed neutrality.
Holland enters the war.
Haidar Ali invades the Carnatic.
1781. Haidar Ali defeated.
Surrender of Yorktown.
1782. *March.* Rockingham Ministry.
April. Rodney's victory of The Saints.
Grattan's Parliament.
July. Shelburne Ministry.
Oct. Relief of Gibraltar.

1782. *Nov.* Hostilities suspended.
1783. *Feb.-Nov.* Coalition Ministry of Fox and North.
Sept. Peace of Versailles.
Nov. Fox's India Bill.
Dec. Pitt takes office.
1784-1801. Pitt Prime Minister.
1784. Pitt's India Act.
1786. Pitt's Sinking Fund.
Impeachment of Warren Hastings.
1788. Annexation of Australia.
1789. Cartwright's power-loom.
Meeting of French States-General.

NOTE

The Armed Neutrality

THIS league was formed in 1780 to protest against and resist certain claims which the British always maintained to be within the rights of belligerents—the states which were at war—in relation to neutrals at sea. They were of advantage to the belligerent which enjoyed naval superiority; as Britain was habitually in that position when at war, they were useful to her, but to neutrals they were always extremely annoying. First there was the generally accepted right of blockade. When an enemy port was declared to be under blockade, no shipping but that of the blockading Power was allowed to enter it; any neutral ship which tried to do so might be forcibly captured with all its contents. But, while British fleets could as a rule set up a real blockade of some enemy ports, it was very seldom possible for an enemy to set up a real blockade of any British ports. Consequently the British generally held that the law of blockade should only apply when the blockade was 'effective' or real. This did not hurt real neutrals, but any Power which was likely for any reason to find itself at war with Britain took the view that any port which was declared to be under blockade was to be regarded as legally closed to all shipping.

But the points that most troubled neutrals were the rights of search and confiscation on the high seas claimed in war-time (a different thing from the right of search in peace-time claimed by the Spaniards in 1739). The British claimed the right to search for and seize any goods belonging to the enemy, even when they were carried on neutral ships; and also any goods which were on the way to any enemy port, whether blockaded or not, if they were 'contraband of war'—that is, if they were such as would help the enemy to fight; while the list of goods which they called

contraband was much larger than their enemies, or the neutrals who wished to sell the goods, approved. Neutrals very much resented being stopped and searched, and having goods confiscated which they did not acknowledge as contraband. But the British, both in 1780 and in 1801, considered that the Leagues were really combinations of Powers which intended to declare war as soon as their fleets were ready, merely using this objection to the British claims as a pretext.

CHAPTER V

THE ERA: 1714-1788.

I. Commerce and Revenue: 1714-1788.

Political Summary—Taxation and Wealth—Mercantilism—Walpole and After—The Younger Pitt and Adam Smith.

THE period between the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and the opening stage of the French Revolution in 1789 forms a well-marked division in world history, not least in the history of our Commonwealth. During those years, within the British Isles the legal Union of England and Scotland was transformed into a solid unity, while in Scotland itself the old antagonism between Highlands and Lowlands lost its former political importance. On the other hand, Ireland's rights of self-government were for the first time definitely claimed and in part recognised. Moreover, it became the established fact, not again to be challenged, that the control of British policy lay not with the Crown but with parliament; while the actual management and direction of it was in the hands of ministers who could only hold office so long as it pleased parliament that they should do so.

1. Political aspects.

Outside the Isles, the foundations of a new Empire were laid in India, and Canada passed from the French to the British Flag: both India and Canada were brought into the area of the Commonwealth, though the thirteen elder British colonies in America severed themselves from it and set themselves up as a separate nation. And in the very last days of the period Britain planted her flag on a new and still unexplored continent.

In Europe, France lost the position she had held as unquestionably the leading military Power. In her rivalry with Great Britain for imperial expansion outside Europe, she was driven out of the field; and the strain of her aggressive wars brought her to the verge of revolution. Prussia startled the world by suddenly establishing herself in the front rank, and as the rival of Austria in the

Europe.

leadership of Germany. Holland and Sweden had already sunk out of the first rank, being too small to maintain their rivalry with the big nations. In eastern Europe, Russia, the Tsardom which Peter the Great had created in the first years of the century, grew into a mighty though still somewhat formless Power; in contact with the western states, but taking part in their movements only when it pleased her to do so. And in every state on the Continent except Holland and Switzerland, a monarch reigned supreme; in none had anything taken place, as in England, transferring the supremacy from the Crown to an elected Assembly. These may be called the political aspects of the period, summarising the story which has so far been told in this volume. From them we turn here to the developments which have not hitherto been examined.

2. Walpole and Pitt.

During twenty-five out of the seventy-five years between 1714 and 1789, the direction of British affairs was in the hands of two great finance ministers, Robert Walpole and the younger William Pitt. To their management of national finance and financial policy Great Britain to a large extent owed the immense increase of her material wealth which carried her so successfully through the Seven Years' War and, afterwards, the wars with the French Republic and with Napoleon.

Wealth.

Now material wealth comes from two things: the production of goods that are wanted (which is industry in its widest sense, including agriculture), and the distribution of them to the people who want them, in exchange for other things which are wanted (which is trade, or commerce, the latter term being specially used for trade with foreign countries). We *want* everything which we need—that is, which we cannot get on without—but also many things which we do not need. Until quite modern times most countries could produce for themselves what they actually needed without going abroad for it—though at the present day England cannot produce enough food to keep her population alive, and so must buy some from abroad in exchange for other things which she produces. But civilised peoples have hardly ever been able to satisfy their *wants* with what they produce themselves.

In any early stage of society the first idea of the community is to regard the foreigner as an enemy: it will take from him—except by robbery—only what it cannot produce for itself. If he wishes to offer

its members goods by way of exchange, he must pay for the privilege of being allowed to do so, a toll or tax on the goods he brings in or im-

3. Protection. ports—so that in the first place he must charge a higher price than people who produce the same kind of goods at home, and next, the toll he pays goes into the community's purse; in the language of modern economists, home industries are protected against foreign competition and the revenue is increased, by a tariff on imported goods.

But when the community wants goods which it cannot produce itself, the tariff means that the purchaser has to pay just that much more than the foreigner would otherwise have been willing to accept. With a high tariff, there will be only one purchaser where there would have been half a dozen if it had been lower, or a score if there had been no tariff at all. It almost comes to this, that, so long as there is a tariff at all, the lower the tariff is the bigger will be the revenue. Three shillings are worth more than one half-crown, and ten sixpences than three shillings.

The same rule applied to exports, the goods which members of the community want to sell abroad. The community required them to pay for the privilege of sending their goods out of the country, to exchange for foreign goods. A tax on exports increased the price of the goods to the foreign buyer without benefit to the producer; it increased the revenue; but a low tax would probably bring in more revenue than a high one.

On the other hand, lowering the tax will not increase the revenue unless there is a proportionate increase in the number of purchasers.

Reduction of duties. One half-crown is worth more than one florin, two shillings, or four sixpences. All through the Middle Ages and down to Walpole's time, nearly every one acted as if reducing a 'duty' would diminish the revenue. Walpole was perhaps the first person who reduced duties in order to increase revenue—and the reason he gave was not that the revenue would benefit, but that the public would get the goods at a lower price.

But the duties were imposed upon imports not generally on the ground that they brought in revenue, but in order to 'regulate trade'—to

Trade regulation. keep it, as would have been said, in the channels which were 'good for the country.' In the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries it was considered 'good for the country' that it should trade with countries which gave it in exchange for its goods not goods but bullion—gold and silver. Thus the trade

with India was denounced as harmful, at the end of the seventeenth century, because India did not buy British goods with gold, but sold her own products for English gold. The Company had to defend itself by saying that though this looked bad, it was not really so, because the Indian goods which had been bought with English gold were sold again in Europe for more gold than had been given for them—so that in the long run the trade brought more gold into the country than it took out.

This doctrine, that the trade which is good for the country is the trade which exchanges goods not for goods but for gold, is known as the 'mercantile theory' or 'mercantilism'; every one took for granted that it was true—not only in England— and no one was bold enough to dispute it openly till George III. had been on the throne for several years. Mercantilism.

So 'regulating trade' meant, in the first place, encouraging trade with countries which wanted British goods but whose own goods the British did not want to buy in great quantities—so that more gold would come in than went out. In the second place, it meant fostering what perhaps we should now call 'key industries,' above all, shipping and agriculture. If agriculture were not protected there was the danger that cheaper corn would be bought abroad, poor land in England would go out of cultivation, and the country would become dependent on foreign supplies, which might lead to its starvation in time of war. In the eighteenth century the country was still able to produce enough to feed the population, but would cease to do so if the price of corn fell so low that it would no longer pay to cultivate inferior soil. Agriculture therefore must be protected by tariffs on imported corn.

The great measure of protection for shipping was the Commonwealth or Restoration Navigation Act, which kept the 'carrying trade' in English (or after the Union with Scotland, British) hands, and in practice made the British carriers for foreign countries too—a position which had before been held by the Dutch, and before them by the Venetians and Genoese. British ships could go to any port, carrying any goods. Dutch ships could bring only Dutch goods to British ports and could carry away goods from England to Holland only; so that it suited every country to put its goods on British vessels. In one way this checked commerce, because the Dutch or other ships which still carried for other people avoided British ports; but it ensured the superiority of the British 'carrying' fleet over its neighbours. The Navigation Acts.

Now Walpole was the last man to denounce a universally-accepted doctrine like the mercantile theory, though he did not regard it as sound; but he departed from it when he could do so without exciting the opposition of any particular class. Neither he nor Pitt would have been prepared to attack the Navigation Act on which the might of the British navy was held to be based. But Walpole saw that taxes on commerce, whether for revenue or for any other purpose, diminish commerce; in his view, the greater the commerce of the nation was, the greater its wealth also would be, the greater its power of providing revenue when expenditure was needed, and the greater the general contentment of the people at large. Therefore he reduced taxes wherever he could do so without raising an outcry that this or that trade would be ruined by foreign competitors; with the result that foreign traders flocked to British ports, commerce increased, wealth increased, and revenue increased. It did not really matter whether the country was producing just what made it strong for war at the moment. If it had the wealth stored, the wealth could be turned rapidly into fighting power (the meaning of which we can see in the Seven Years' War, when Frederick's armies, maintained by British gold, were fighting Britain's battles against the French). On the other hand, the fighting power, at which the accepted doctrine aimed, would be little use without the wealth. (Unaided by British gold, Frederick must have been crushed, in spite of the excellence of his army.)

4. Walpole.

The Excise scheme which Walpole introduced and then dropped, yielding to public clamour, has been explained in a separate note at the end of Chapter I. Pelham followed on the same lines as Walpole, but after him no able financier was in charge of the Exchequer before the younger Pitt. The Treasury, badly in need of revenue, returned to the old belief that the way to raise the revenue was to increase taxes, and if the increase did not raise it enough—or actually diminished it—to increase them again. After the Seven Years' War taxes were piled up and multiplied, as pleased the fancy of each Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the chance that they would bring in revenue, while the revenue itself was more and more wasted on places and pensions and ill-judged expenditure; year by year more was spent than could be collected, while the expansion of trade was checked; year by year the Government had to borrow and pay its way with borrowed money; so that when young Pitt came into power in 1784 the National Debt was double what it had been in 1760, and

After Walpole.

the yearly expenditure which the Government had to meet was bigger than the yearly revenue coming in from taxation.

In three years, Pitt's management had wrought a wonderful change; the revenue was already bigger than the expenditure, and was increasing. Trade was growing rapidly, and Pitt was able to set up a 'Sinking Fund' for the purpose of gradually paying off the huge debt. That is, since revenue was bigger than expenditure, the surplus—a million a year—could be set aside for paying off the debt. But not immediately. The money was to be invested wisely, so that the profit or interest received on it would be bigger than the interest paid on a million of the National Debt. That would be invested too, so that in a short time the few millions put into the sinking fund would pay off many millions of the National Debt. The plan was excellent at the time—and just for so long as the money put into the sinking fund was sure of earning a bigger interest than that which was being paid to the people who had lent the Government money, the 'holders of Government stock.' When war came, and the Government had to borrow money at a rate of interest higher than the sinking fund could earn, clearly it would not pay to set aside a million for the sinking fund and borrow an extra million in its place to carry on with.

5. Pitt's Sinking Fund.

However, the point is not so much that the sinking fund was a clever device when Pitt started it, as that it could not have been started if Pitt had not first made the revenue bigger than the expenditure—partly by skill in cutting down of waste, partly by skill in increasing the revenue. He did this in part by following Walpole's old plan of preferring low to high duties—trebling the number of purchasers by halving the duty, and perhaps trebling them again by halving it again. But this was not the whole of the benefit which came from low duties. When duties were high, there was a great deal of smuggling—the goods were not carried into the ports, where the customs-officers saw that the duties were paid before they were taken inland for sale; they were brought ashore secretly, that they might escape paying the duty. But when the duties were low, it was not worth while, in order to escape them, to take the risk of being caught and punished for smuggling; so the goods were brought into port, and the duties on them were paid and added to the revenue.

Tariff reform.

Pitt however also invented or increased taxes on several articles or luxuries, but they were carefully selected so that they would fall only on persons who were comparatively well off. For instance, there was a

window-tax; but it made no difference to people who lived in cottages which no one thought of building with many windows. His new taxes were not felt as a check on trade. The great point of Pitt's taxation was his purpose of avoiding as much as possible taxes which checked commerce (the exchange of goods with foreign countries) and therefore diminished the general wealth of the country. For he had been convinced by the new teaching of Adam Smith, a Scottish professor, who in his great book *The Wealth of Nations* had a few years before attacked the 'Mercantile Theory.' The new doctrine, which Pitt was the first really to put into practice, though he only made a beginning, declared that it is not bad but good for us that our neighbours should be prosperous, because, unless they are, they cannot either buy our goods or sell us the goods we want from them; that it does not matter whether what we get in exchange for our goods is gold and silver or other goods; that the State ought not to hinder any one from following the trade which he thinks he can work most successfully; and that generally the more people were left to act on their own judgment and the less the State interfered with them, the better it would be for every one. Fifty years after Pitt's death there was hardly any one left in England who doubted the truth of Adam Smith's teaching—which is often summed up in the phrase *Laisser faire*.

New taxes.

Adam Smith.

The most striking example Pitt himself gave of what was afterwards to become the general practice was a commercial treaty with France by which both countries agreed to cut down the duties they had laid upon goods imported from the other. The mercantile theory almost entirely prevented trade with France, lest the country with which we were so often at war should get more gold from Britain in exchange for her other goods than Britain would get from her in exchange for British goods. Walpole himself in his day had denounced a similar proposal made by the Tory Government at the end of Queen Anne's reign. It is curious that in the nineteenth century it was the Whigs and the traders that supported and the Tories and the landed interests that denounced the new commercial policy—though not for the reasons urged in the earlier period. For in Walpole's time it was supposed that the landed interests would not suffer from it, but the traders would; whereas in the nineteenth century the traders reckoned that they would gain by it while the landed interests knew that they would suffer—as we shall see in due course. Pitt stands midway, when some of the traders were beginning to take the new view.

The French commercial treaty.

II. The Industrial Revolution: (i) 1769-1788.

Agriculture—Power Machinery—Iron, Coal, and Steam.

THUS in Pitt's time we were on the eve of a financial revolution, a very big change in the principles and methods of taxation, for which Walpole had to some extent prepared the way. But we were also on the eve of an industrial and agricultural revolution, a very big change in the methods of production and distribution, which was to make a still greater difference between the England of Walpole and the England of Queen Victoria.

1. Agriculture and manufacture.

In Walpole's time the bulk of the population was still mainly occupied with agriculture in the wide sense—the growing of corn and the breeding of sheep and cattle, for food, wool, and leather, and other purposes. The bulk of the rest was mainly occupied either with home trade or foreign commerce—the buying and selling of goods, the 'raw material' produced by agriculture, or 'manufactured goods' either imported from abroad or made at home. The principal goods manufactured at home were cloths, produced in two stages by spinning and weaving. But the spinning and weaving were done, not as now in factories, but for the most part by the rural population who were mainly occupied with agriculture; they were *by*-industries by which yeomen, farm labourers, and their wives and families added to the income which they earned by working on the soil.

They did so because the work on the soil did not give them enough to live on. It was carried on in the old-fashioned ways which had been followed for centuries with hardly any improvements. The land was cut up for the most part into the small holdings of yeomen who were grouped together in the manors or villages; the holdings were mixed together in strips of an acre or two, or less, separated from each other only by 'balks' or lines of slightly-raised ground (just as a ditch is a line of slightly sunk ground) in open fields; all the villagers planted the same kind of corn at the same time; you could not have a strip of wheat with a strip of barley on one side of it and a strip of oats on the other. No one could attempt to work his own strips as he himself pleased. If any one wanted to try something new, he had to persuade all his neighbours to agree—so nothing new was tried. The only people who could make improvements were the landlords who had got big plots of land lying together, instead of scattered strips; and only a few of these were enterprising enough to

Farming methods.

try new experiments. One of these was 'Turnip Townshend,' Walpole's colleague and rival from 1720 to 1730, who retired from politics to take up agriculture. He got his nickname by introducing the growing of 'roots' such as turnips as a change from 'cereals' such as wheat and rye.

Thus even when George III. had been reigning for several years, there was still little improvement on the practice of centuries past. The yeomen and the labourers could still manage to make both ends meet, only by means of the by-industries—and not always then. And the only hope of improvement was for the yeomen to change their ways—which they were neither able nor willing to do—or for the landlords to get possession of the yeomen's plots and make the improvements themselves; that is, to adopt methods by which the soil could be made to produce more than it was doing, and inferior soil not worth working under the old methods could be brought into cultivation. The landlords themselves were beginning to see this, and beginning to try by every means to get possession of the yeomen's holdings for themselves; and not only of the yeomen's holdings, but also of the 'commons,' the waste lands in every manor or village which were the 'common' property of all the villagers, and were kept for their pigs and poultry, the grazing of their donkeys, and the cutting of turf and firewood.

The need for change.

So a little before Pitt came into power, there was already beginning the second period of Enclosures—enclosing small holdings and common lands in single big estates. The first had been in the Tudor times, when the object was to turn the ground into pasture for sheep. This time the object was to bring waste land under tillage and improve the cultivation of land already under the plough, so that the whole community (as well as the landlords) might benefit by increased food-production. But it could only be done by inducing yeomen to give up their holdings, and 'commoners' their rights in the commons.

2. Enclosure.

Fifty years earlier that would have been no easy matter, and even now the yeomen were very unwilling to part with their plots. But now they were beginning to find that they could not make a living off them, because they were losing the by-industries, the spinning and weaving in their own houses which had hitherto just made the difference between hard want and decent comfort. And this was the result of another change which had been taking place since

about the middle of the century, the invention of a quite new kind of machinery.

Until this time very nearly all the machinery known might have been called *tools*. The spinning wheel and the weaver's loom were driven by the worker's hand or foot. Mills for grinding corn had been driven by wind or water, and a pump had been invented which was driven by steam; but apart from these, machines were tools worked by hand, not by 'power' or natural forces, air or wind (pneumatic), water (hydraulic), steam, or electricity, which we now compel to do so much of our work for us. You could work your machine on your own hearth as well as anywhere else. The graziers sheared their sheep; the wool was distributed among the cottagers who spun it into yarn; the yarn was distributed among the yeomen who wove it into cloth.

Spinning and weaving.

The inventions were started because there was a sort of race between the cottage spinners and the yeoman weavers. When George II. became king, the spinners were spinning more yarn than the weavers could weave. In 1732 the weaver's tools were improved by an invention known as 'Kay's fly-shuttle,' which enabled him to weave twice as much as before in a given time—to 'double his output.' Now he could use more yarn than the spinners could turn out. In 1764 the spinner's tool was improved by Hargreaves' 'spinning jenny'; with one jenny she could turn out as much as eight of the old wheels. The spinners were ahead of the weavers again. Then came the great change. In 1769 Richard Arkwright invented a spinning *machine* driven by water-power—for spinning not wool but cotton—which was again improved upon by Crompton's 'mule.' These did not at once make much difference—except that they made yarn cheaper—because the spinners were already ahead. But they suggested imitation, and in 1784 Edward Cartwright invented the weaver's 'power-loom,' driven by water-power instead of by hand. From that moment 'power' machinery was clearly destined to drive hand tools out of the field. But the cottager and the yeoman had no water-power at hand unless they lived beside a strong stream. Their spinning and weaving was bound to go to the man who set up machinery—a factory in the modern sense—beside a stream, and hired labourers to work it. The yeoman, who only kept himself going by means of the by-industry thus taken from him, was doomed. The result we shall see hereafter.

The fly-shuttle.

Water-power.

MEANWHILE a driving power even more revolutionary than water was being brought into play, and beside it the use of two raw materials in which Great Britain was particularly rich—steam-power, iron, and coal. Iron was to be had in great quantities, but could not be turned to use till it was smelted; to smelt it required furnaces; the fuel then used for furnaces was charcoal; and so iron was being turned out at less cost and in greater quantity by countries where more charcoal was to be had more easily than in England. But about 1760 a way was discovered of making better furnaces with coal than with charcoal—a way which provided a sufficient 'blast' for the furnace by means of water-power. It was very soon found that there was a very large field in which iron or steel was much the best material to use; an immense quantity of iron, and of coal for the blast-furnaces, was required, and the development of the iron industry—and therefore of the coal industry—was again immensely increased when it was found, about 1776, that steam-power could be used more effectively than water-power both for the blast-furnaces and for driving the machinery in the ironworks. The great coal-fields and iron-fields lay side by side so that the coal and iron were within easy reach of each other, and before long the British iron industry far outstripped that of other countries.

3. Iron, coal, and Steam.

The steam-engine which took the place of water-power (not the railway engine) was the invention of James Watt of Glasgow, who hit upon his new idea in 1763, but did not actually succeed in building a good working engine till 1776. Iron was the necessary material for a steam-engine, and for steam-driven machinery; thus steam needed iron while iron needed steam, both needed coal, and coal-mining needed both, so that from 1776 the three grew side by side. In ten years' time machinery of iron driven by steam was beginning to come into use for the spinning of silk and cotton. The increase of manufacture by machinery was increasing the nation's wealth, and again—the results we shall see hereafter.

The steam-engine.

One more point must be added before we leave this subject. Trade and commerce are hampered when it is difficult to convey goods from one place to another. British trade, before George III. became king, was much hampered in this way. All the roads, even the great main roads, were so bad that heavily-laden wagons travelled very slowly, with great difficulty and much jolting. About 1761 however the duke of Bridgewater, taking example by the Dutch, had a canal constructed between Worsley and Manchester which immensely reduced the cost of carrying coal from one to the other. Owing

Transit.

to its great success—strings of heavily-laden barges could be towed so easily—hundreds of miles of canals were constructed all over the country, and hundreds more planned out, within ten years; and for the next sixty years the canals were the great carriers of all sorts of heavy or breakable goods—an infinite improvement upon the old bad roads. Just as water-power took the place of hand-power and then gave way to steam, so—for a somewhat longer period—water traffic took the place of road traffic and then gave place to the railroad.

III. Literature, Thought, and Religion: 1714-1788.

Letters—Religion.

THE literature of the eighteenth century has a character of its own. It belongs to the era which began with the Restoration of 1660, and the reign of Louis XIV. in France. For a century, England and the world had been living under the strain of intense emotions and deep feelings, passionate devotion to religious and political ideals. The reaction had come; passionate devotion to anything, good or bad, went out of fashion. The cultivated society, in which alone literature of any sort could flourish, suppressed its emotions; when it expressed them at all, it did so wittily, neatly, gracefully, but never fervently. Strong feeling is upsetting to cool reasoning. The whole age was one in which brains counted for nearly everything, and feeling for very little. But the greater poetry is concerned mainly with the vivid expression of strong feeling. Therefore the whole age was one in which there was very little of the greater poetry; though the literature which treats things from the intellectual side flourished.

1. The Restoration and the Augustans.

Still the eighteenth century is distinguished from the Restoration period, when the reaction against the deep feeling of real Puritanism, and against the austerity and joylessness both of the real and of the pretence Puritanism, had driven men to despise and mock at virtue itself. The literature of the 'Augustan' age of Queen Anne became moral again; and from that time the leading writers generally were, and always claimed to be, on the side of virtue against vice. The works of the most distinguished of the poets, Alexander Pope, consisted largely of moral essays written in the verse of which he and Dryden before him were the greatest masters; and the next 'dictator' of English literature—Samuel Johnson—followed that example. Pope was already famous before Queen Anne was dead.

An age of moralists.

Before he died in 1744, Johnson was already shouldering his way to fame; and Johnson from about 1760 till his death in 1783 was acknowledged on all hands to be the greatest living man of letters in England. The moral essays and satires of Pope and Johnson were generally regarded as the highest poetic achievement of their time. Yet the poetry of William Collins, little known at the time, Gray's beautiful *Elegy*, and the *Deserted Village* of Oliver Goldsmith, all showed that the poetry of emotion was still stirring.

The poetic drama could not flourish when the emotions which it tried to express were not those which men and women do feel, but those which it was considered that they ought to feel. But the prose 'comedy of manners,' comedy having no concern with the deeper emotions, became brilliant again in the hands of Oliver Goldsmith (*She Stoops to Conquer*) and Sheridan (*The Rivals* and *The School for Scandal*)—both Irishmen—in the second half of the century, when on the stage David Garrick and Sarah Siddons were teaching the English public to understand and enjoy Shakespeare again. For the 'intellectual' criticism, which had sprung from France in the Restoration days, had denounced Shakespeare as a 'barbarian' of genius who had unfortunately lived before the true rules of his art were known. Johnson too did a great deal to restore Shakespeare to favour among cultured people; and thus prepared the way for the new movement which was to become active at the very end of the century.

Drama.

But though there was little of what we have called the greater poetry, prose flourished in a new field. There had before been dreary and ponderous works known as romances; but in the eighteenth century the novel was born. Its forerunner had been, in some sort, John Bunyan's great allegory, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and Addison's character sketches—especially *Sir Roger de Coverley*—in the *Spectator*, when Anne was queen. Then in George I.'s days the veteran journalist and pamphleteer, Daniel Defoe, began to write stories—not for the stage, but to be read. It may fairly be said that the English novel was born when he published *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), followed by others. After Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) there came in the middle of the century a series of novels by Richardson, Henry Fielding (whom some people still regard as the greatest of English novelists), Tobias Smollett, and Laurence Sterne, and the *Vicar of Wakefield*—another work of Oliver Goldsmith, of whom it was said by Johnson that he 'touched nothing which he did not beautify.' Live humanity had been driven out of poetry and off the tragic stage by the

The novel.

'conventions' which declared that what is natural cannot be artistic; but the novel was bound by no conventions, being an adventure in new fields for which no rules had been laid down; and in the novels humanity was very much alive.

In the realm of philosophy appear the great names of two bishops, Berkeley and Butler, and of the Scot David Hume, who is generally regarded as the founder of the 'English School'—that is, of the doctrines which have been most brilliantly developed by Englishmen. Of Adam Smith and his *Wealth of Nations* we have already spoken. Hume too was the first great British historian, and his *History of England* was followed by the monumental work of Edward Gibbon, the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, the whole of which appeared between 1776 and 1789. The most notable among the many notable thinkers of the time—at least on political subjects—was the great orator Edmund Burke, whose speeches, published also as books, on the American question and other current topics have ever since provided a storehouse of arguments for Liberals, while the later speeches and pamphlets on the French Revolution have supplied a similar armoury for Conservatism.

Philosophy and history.

Journalism grew very much during the century, partly because of the disappearance in 1695 of the old rule under which it was punishable to publish anything which had not been passed by the censors who had power to forbid publication. The 'periodical Press,' papers published at regular intervals, grew and multiplied after 1702 when the first 'Daily' appeared; the short essays of Addison and Steele in the *Spectator* and *Tatler* under Queen Anne, of Johnson in the *Rambler*, and of Goldsmith in the *Bee*, became permanent treasures of English literature. The *Letters of Junius*, a series of fierce and generally unjust attacks on public men, which have always remained interesting because nobody knows who wrote them, also appeared in the periodical Press; and we have already seen how politics could be influenced by the newspapers in the story of John Wilkes.

Journalism.

Naturally, in a period of 'rationalism' when reasoning and brain-work were held in such high account, science advanced steadily; but there was no such forward stride in the discovery of scientific principles as had been made by Isaac Newton under William III.; the great movement was that of invention, of applying to purely practical purposes, by new methods, the principles already discovered. Of that too we have already given some account.

Science.

Rationalism, and the pursuit of material wealth as the one thing to be desired, nearly killed poetry and every form of enthusiasm or idealism including patriotism and religion. Patriotism was saved by the elder Pitt, religion mainly by the Wesleyan movement. The old Puritan fervour had perished; even the zeal of the old High Church party for the Church was discouraged because it was mixed up with zeal for pure monarchism and the exiled royal family. Uneducated people were taught that it was wrong to question Church doctrines, to murmur against their lot in life, to break the law, or to be disrespectful to their betters; which was all sound teaching when properly understood. But Christianity means something more than respectability, and practically not much more was taught from the pulpits than the virtue of respectability, and the duty of doing nothing irregular.

2. Religion.

In the early years of George II. an Oxford scholar, John Wesley, who was commonly regarded as an irrationally zealous High Churchman, realised for himself that religion and the love of Christ mattered more than anything else in the world. He was joined by others who were stirred by the same spirit. Their burning faith was something very different from the placid religion of respectable conformity to custom, which, like Walpole, held it best to 'let sleeping dogs lie'; it was rousing, passionate, intensely emotional. When Wesley with his brother Charles and their comrades set about preaching to convert people and make others feel their religion as they felt it, the clergy soon refused to let them speak from their pulpits. Then after much doubt they began, since they could not preach in the churches, to do it in the open air. Vast congregations gathered to listen to them; multitudes fell under the spell. At last, because the church doors were still closed to them, Wesley consented very unwillingly to form a separate religious body with its own organisation, outside the Church of England.

John Wesley.

John Wesley's own work went on for fifty years. He travelled over the country from end to end, travelling thousands of miles on foot or on horseback, preaching thousands of sermons, converting tens of thousands of sinners, rousing in tens of thousands a new intensity of religious faith and fervour, a longing for something that matters more than material comfort. Before he died, he had done more than any other man to save the soul of England.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT FRENCH WAR: 1789-1815.

I. The French Revolution: 1789-1792.

The Coming Revolution—The Revolution in Progress—Gathering Momentum—The End of the French Monarchy.

In May 1789 the French States-General—the Assembly of the Three Estates of the realm, Noblesse, Clergy, and Commons—met for the first time since 1613 and opened the new Revolutionary Era.

The Assembly was called together in the hope that it would find a way out of the financial difficulties which were threatening France with ruin. Those difficulties had been brought to this grave point partly by extravagant expenditure on the constant wars of aggression which France had been carrying on for more than a hundred years, partly by misplaced taxation which had checked commerce and the development of wealth, partly by taxation misplaced in another way because the burden of it fell upon the people who were least able to bear it, while those who were best able to bear it went free. To remedy this state of things the first necessity was to 'readjust the burden of taxation' so that it should fall equally upon all. Yet it was quite certain that the 'privileged' classes who were exempted from taxation—the noblesse and the clergy—would fight their hardest against the fair readjustment which would deprive them of their privileges. The thing would never be done unless the Third Estate, the Commons, were able to override the other two. That would mean that the decision of a great question of State would be in the hands of the Commons who had never before had any voice in affairs of State at all. The result would necessarily be that after this they would claim a right to decide other questions of State—having before them the example of the British House of Commons. They would win or at least try to win at one stroke what the English Commons had won by constitutional reforms

1. France in 1789.

EUROPE in 1789

to illustrate the Napoleonic War

Boundaries of the Empire and France

Prussian Dominions

Austrian Dominions

Sardinian Dominions

M = MILAN, P = PARMA

Emery Walker sc.

and struggles extending over five centuries. The British Parliament and people were inclined to look on as benevolent and sympathetic spectators.

But there was much more in it than this. The French Commons would have to face the hot opposition of nearly all the nobility and probably of the clergy, of whom in England a large proportion—often the majority—had usually been on the side of the Commons. The French Commons would demand the immediate remedying of long-standing grievances which in England had disappeared centuries ago, the privileges and powers of landowners, lay and clerical, over the peasantry on their estates, which in England had vanished with villeinage when the Lancastrians were reigning. Between the noblesse, the 'aristocrats' in France, and the French Commons of every class, there was a great gulf fixed: every one of a noble family was himself a noble, and his children after him. For a commoner to be raised to the ranks of the nobility was almost unheard of. But in England the gulf had never been more than a dividing line not at all impossible to pass over. The brothers and sons of a peer were themselves commoners; only one of them on the peer's death would become a peer; and any commoner who distinguished himself in war or politics might hope to be raised to the peerage. Thus the battle of the French Commons for the rights enjoyed as a matter of course by the Commons in Great Britain would be very different from any that had been known in England. Reform in England had meant gradual change, an alteration here, something added or something removed there, while the structure remained fast. Reform in France, unless every one concerned showed extraordinary self-restraint, would almost certainly mean pulling down the structure itself and building something new, untried, experimental, to take its place. It was not likely that that would be done without shattering a great deal that was good along with what was unquestionably bad. So the benevolent sympathy of the British Parliament was touched with some doubt and even anxiety.

Contrasts of France and England.

In the other European Governments there was more serious reason for alarm; for they were all on the French model. If the Commons in France took to demanding their rights, their own Commons might be stirred up to follow the dangerous example; princes and aristocrats would have trouble in maintaining their authority—except in Russia which was too far away to be seriously disturbed by what went on in France. Even they, however, felt no great anxiety at first. In Austria, the still reigning Emperor Joseph II.

Europe.

was a typical 'benevolent despot,' honestly anxious for the prosperity of his people, willing to remedy injustice when he saw it, but quite convinced that all authority ought to be in his own hands; he had already tried in his own dominions to remove some of the grievances from which the population of France was suffering. In Prussia there was a new king, not over-wise, Frederick William II., who had succeeded his shrewd old uncle Frederick II. in 1786. Both he and Joseph were more occupied with Russia's designs on Poland than with affairs in France.

THE sympathy and the indifference were soon shaken. When the Third Estate secured control of the National Assembly, England approved.

2. The Bastille. When the Paris mob captured the Bastille, the fortress-prison which was a sort of emblem of the despotic power of the French monarchy, the event was hailed with enthusiasm by ardent lovers of liberty in England, though some were already suggesting that liberty and mob-law were not the same thing, and that the real control would pass from the national representatives to uncontrolled mobs. The Assembly at one stroke abolished a host of aristocratic and clerical privileges, the removal of which was extremely desirable; but when you remove the unsound props of a building, you must put something else in their place to keep it propped up—or rebuild the walls; the props were removed while the Assembly was still only considering plans for rebuilding.

The intentions of the mild king Louis XVI. were excellent, but he had no understanding of statecraft. The monarchist Government had called the Assembly that it might advise and help, and found that instead it had set up a new master in its own place, a master which it was not strong enough to resist, and which yet was not itself strong enough to preserve order, since it had abolished the machinery by which order had hitherto been maintained. In many parts of the country the peasantry were rising against the aristocrats, the landowners, the seigneurs who had oppressed them for centuries, murdering them, burning their chateaux or manor-houses, destroying their property. Aristocrats, including the king's brothers, were taking flight from the country; and these émigrés, as they were called, were soon clamouring in foreign countries for foreign intervention to crush the Revolution. Meanwhile the Assembly was devising a new Constitution, a new system of government, based upon what some idealists had called the Rights of Man, a system which could not conceivably be brought

into working order except by slow degrees, but was to be set up in a day by a vote of the Assembly and a stroke of the pen.

So in 1790 in England the most ardent champion of Constitutional Liberties in the American quarrel, Edmund Burke, was passionately denouncing the Revolution, declaring that its inevitable end would be not liberty but a military dictatorship, and that even that end would only be reached through seas of blood. Moreover Burke's eloquence and the actual course of events in France were beginning to convince the bulk of the people that his view was right. In the American quarrel at its beginning, some five-and-twenty years earlier, British public opinion had been rather in favour of the colonists; in ten years it had turned almost solidly against them because they had set about enforcing their claims by repeated acts of lawlessness and defiance of legally-constituted authority. British public opinion now was turned much more rapidly and not less solidly against the French for the same reason. If the aim of the French was to have grievances remedied and attain the political freedom which had long been the birthright of British citizens, they were setting about it in the wrong way. They had no business to drive the émigrés to flight, burn their chateaux, and insult the reigning king and queen.

Burke.

In 1791 matters were growing worse. Mirabeau, himself an aristocrat who had made himself the leader of the Third Estate—the one man who might possibly have dragged order out of the chaos and established a strong government under a 'constitutional' king on something like the British model—died. Louis attempted to flee the country, but was recognised and stopped at Varennes near the Netherlands border, and was brought back to Paris. The Assembly declared that his royal powers were suspended, and kept him in custody while it finished drawing up the new Constitution—when he should accept it, he would be king again. The Emperor Leopold II. of Austria—brother of the French queen Marie Antoinette, and of the late Emperor Joseph whom he had succeeded in 1790, joined the king of Prussia in issuing the Declaration of Pilnitz. threatening foreign intervention if Louis were not restored—and if all the Powers agreed. As Pitt would certainly not agree, being of opinion that it was the business of the French, like the British, to settle their own constitutional questions. Leopold really meant that he had no intention of intervening. Before autumn Louis accepted the Constitution and was king again. But the mischief had been done—all France

3. France and the Powers.

believed that the kings of Europe meant to dictate to France on behalf of their brother monarch; it was furious with the kings, furious with its own king for appealing to foreigners against his own subjects. It did not understand that the Pilnitz declaration was really a rejection of any such appeal.

Along with the new Constitution, a new 'Legislative Assembly' took the place of the old National Assembly; none of the old members—who at least had some practical experience of the business of government—were allowed to sit in it. It contained a large proportion of Republicans who thought the monarchy itself would be better abolished; but it was pledged to maintain the new Constitution which kept the king as a figurehead. But the real power lay not with this inexperienced body, but with the City-government of Paris, at the head of which were some of the most extreme men who had been shut out of the Assembly. The Paris newspaper Press was full of talk about 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,' but also of denunciations of aristocrats, of religion, and of the decencies of society. In England there were signs of a similar movement, though it never seems to have taken hold among any large numbers of the people. The poor in this country were suffering from some early effects of the Industrial Revolution, as we shall see presently; but they were not ready to believe that the cure for their sufferings lay in a Political Revolution. Still, there was cause enough for anxiety.

Paris.

In the spring of 1792 the Assembly in its wrath against Austria compelled Louis to declare war first on Austria and then on her ally Prussia. We must remind ourselves that 'the Netherlands,' the modern Belgium, was at this time Austrian territory, and that its population had quite lately resisted the Austrian rule. If Austria attacked France it would be from the Netherlands; if France attacked Austria it would be in the Netherlands; and if France and Prussia attacked each other it would probably be through the Netherlands. On the other side of them was Holland, whose Stadtholder William of Orange was in alliance with Great Britain and Prussia, while still—as in the seventeenth century—there was an anti-Orange republican party which looked to France for support. It was a French tradition, which had started with Richelieu a hundred and sixty years back, that the Rhine was the 'natural boundary' of France, and the Netherlands were 'by nature' a part of France.

4. War in Europe.

The French army officers were still, as they always had been, aristocrats;

the soldiers suspected them—and all aristocrats—of being secretly on the enemy's side. Soldiers will not fight under leaders whom they suspect of being traitors. The fighting began badly for the French. The angry Paris mob broke into the royal palace of the Tuileries and insulted the king and queen. The duke of Brunswick, in command of the Prussian army, sent a threatening proclamation to Paris which trebled the angry suspicions of the populace. The royal family, fearing further violence, fled from the Tuileries—where the mob massacred the body-guard of Swiss soldiers—to the 'protection' of the feeble Assembly. News came of a Prussian advance. The Paris Commune—the City-government—arrested and flung into prison every 'suspect,' every one suspected of having aristocratic sympathies. News came of another Prussian success, and also of revolt in the district called La Vendée, where the peasantry were still attached to their seigneurs and to the clergy. In terror of 'betrayal' the Commune caused a large number of the imprisoned suspects to be slaughtered in what are called the 'September Massacres.'

The September Massacres.

A few days later the Assembly was dissolved. The National Convention which took its place had in it all the old extremist leaders, and a huge majority of Republican deputies. Its first act was to proclaim the birth of the French Republic and the end of the monarchy.

II. The War with the Republic: (i) 1792-1797.

War becomes inevitable—The Coalition and the Republic—The Coalition dissolves—The British Navy.

Two years and a little more than four months had passed between the first meeting of the States-General and the proclamation of the French Republic by the National Convention. During the whole of that time, Pitt had remained convinced that nothing was likely to occur which would compel Britain to drop the part of a disinterested spectator. If France chose to seek for constitutional freedom, an Englishman must necessarily approve. If her methods were ill-judged, violent, even reckless, there was still no justification for British interference in French affairs which were not British affairs. If France chose to depose her monarch, she was within her rights; England had set the example—once in favour of a republic and afterwards in favour of a diverted line of succession. Foreign threats had urged her into war with Austria and Prussia—a foolish business in view

1. Pitt's attitude.

of her financial embarrassments and general disorganisation, but certainly not one which called for British intervention. Neither Austria nor Prussia had any claim to British help, and they might well be left to take care of themselves; in any case France in her present condition could not maintain a prolonged struggle. It was unfortunate, because a dangerous spirit was stirred among the discontented classes in England; domestic reforms, which were certainly desirable, must be postponed lest they should place more power in the hands of people imbued with dangerous revolutionary ideas. For the same reason, a check must for the time be put upon freedom of speech, since revolutionary oratory would lead to disorder and violence. But there was still no warrant for foreign Powers to dictate the way in which France was to deal with her domestic difficulties.

The Republican government however at once made it impossible to maintain that attitude. The strongest party appeared to be the group known from the name of the district of Gironde as the Girondins—'intellectuals' as we should say now, who had drawn their political ideas from the ancient republic of Rome before Rome had an emperor. They were themselves republicans; they were patriots; they looked on themselves as the champions of 'liberty' not only in France but everywhere else; they had been strongly represented in the last Assembly. The other great party were the Jacobins who now came to be known as the 'Mountain,' the party whose leaders, Danton and Robespierre, were already masters of the Paris Commune, and were the authors of the September massacres.

The Girondins.

At just this moment—and from this time forward—the successes of the Prussians were stayed. Dumouriez, the Girondist commander at the front, revived the old claim to France's 'natural boundaries,' the Rhine and the Alps. The Netherlands and Savoy were both to be absorbed into France. Moreover, it was proclaimed that wherever a people rose against Despotism in the sacred name of Liberty, France would come to their aid—dangerous doctrine for people who had been fiercely denouncing the insolent intervention of the foreigners in French affairs. It was a direct challenge to every monarchical government in Europe, a direct incitement of their subjects to rebellion, a direct claim to the right of interference. It did not actually touch England, but it destroyed the last shreds of sympathy, of which scarcely a remnant was left after the horror of the September massacres.

But beyond this, the French army was pushing into the Netherlands —the Prussian troops were retiring because the Prussian king was

thinking more of sharing Poland with Russia than of preserving the Netherlands for Austria. The Netherlanders themselves were welcoming the invaders, and the French Government announced that when they were liberated from their Austrian masters, the Dutch treaty, which France herself had forced upon Austria in 1785 (and which had been confirmed by Britain and Prussia in 1788) was to be torn up, and the navigation of the Scheldt below Antwerp was to be opened. The Scheldt.

This was the decisive step. Both France and Great Britain were pledged to maintain that treaty—much as in 1914 Britain was pledged to preserve the neutrality of Belgium. National Interest and National Honour were emphatically on the same side, since Antwerp under French control, with the Scheldt open, would be a menace to the British on the seas. But the point of honour came first; Britain must keep faith and compel France to keep faith. If France refused to withdraw, Britain had no choice. She must declare war. Of that there was no shadow of doubt in the mind of Pitt, the lover of peace. Even without this, public opinion, outraged by the September massacres and roused by the eloquence of Burke, was ready to support a war policy. Now the political justification had been supplied by the action of France; she could not withdraw, and she went on to give the sentimental justification. In December 'citizen Louis Capet' was tried for his life, and in January 1793 his head fell beneath the guillotine. On 1st February war was declared between Great Britain and the French Republic. War inevitable.

France was already at war with Austria and Prussia, and with Sardinia on account of Savoy. Now Great Britain was added, and the circle of her enemies was soon joined by the two Bourbon monarchies of Spain and the Sicilies. Was it possible that the bankrupt Republic, itself torn by the hostility between the Girondins and the Mountain and menaced by Royalist rebellion, could make head against this tremendous coalition? Pitt thought not, but Pitt was mistaken. 2. The first Coalition.

On one side the coalition never put forth its powers, because each member was intent upon securing private gains for itself instead of combining with the rest to crush the common foe. Prussia, not directly open to French attack, never attempted to play a vigorous part; she was much more interested in annexing Polish territory, and her Polish ambitions forced Austria to divide her attention between Poland and

France. For Austria herself, the Netherlands were an outlying province cut off from the rest of her territories and difficult to defend. The British navy held the seas, but the British army was too small and too ill-organised to play a leading part, or even such a part as it had played in Europe during the Seven Years' War. The Sicilies were of no account, Spain and Sardinia of very little.

The French temper.

On the other hand the French people were full of a passion of patriotism, enthusiasm for the 'Cause of Liberty,' and determination to make every effort and every sacrifice; neither asking mercy nor giving it to any who stood in the way or who failed to render the services demanded of them. As once in England Cromwell had fashioned the 'New Model army,' regardless of the seniority, the social position, or the political influence of the officers, demanding only that they should understand their business and be full of zeal for the Cause, so now in France the army was reorganised; men of ability were promoted, whatever their standing might be; men who failed were straightway dismissed ruthlessly, or guillotined; in successive governments the direction of military affairs was left generally in the hands of Carnot, who had a genius for discovering genius and found general after general to lead French troops to victory after victory.

The Reign of Terror.

The worst horrors of the French Revolution came in the eighteen months after the Girondins and the Mountain had united to 'fling down the head of a king as a gage of battle to the kings'—so Danton phrased it. First the Mountain got the mastery over the Girondins, whose chiefs were sent to the guillotine, and a twelvemonth's 'reign of terror' was established; every week the guillotine claimed its victims by scores—the 'suspects' condemned by the Tribunal in Paris and its officers in the provinces. Danton sickened of the slaughter; Robespierre and his followers sent him after the Girondins. At last in the summer of 1794 France, even Paris, was surfeited with the bloodshed. The Convention turned on Robespierre. His death ended the Reign of Terror. A revised Constitution was set up. The direction of affairs was placed in the hands of a small group called the *Directoire*, the Directory, in 1795. Once more Paris rose against the government, but the rising was crushed by a young artillery officer, Napoleon Buonaparte. The Directory was saved, to rule for another three years, and the man who had saved it was sent to command the French armies in Italy, where his campaigns in 1796 brought a series of startling victories, which enabled him in 1797

The Directory.

to dictate peace terms to Austria—leaving Great Britain the only Power which was still in arms against France.

THROUGHOUT the four and a half years between the British declaration of war and the peace of Campo Formio between France and Austria, the balance of victory lay with the French on every front —in the Netherlands, on the Rhine, in Savoy, in Italy, in Spain. Prussia made her own separate peace in 1795, the better to complete the final partition of Poland, in which the lion's share went to Russia, most of the rest to Prussia, and the remaining fragment as a sop to Austria. Spain followed Prussia's example, and in 1796 allied herself with her late antagonist. Only Great Britain and Austria, loyal to each other, maintained the struggle; and Buonaparte's Italian campaigns in 1796 forced Austria to retire in 1797. 3. The success of France.

The British had played no distinguished part in the land operations. They had sent troops to the Netherlands, and money to maintain the Prussian army; but the Prussian forces stood inactive. Some successes in the first months were used by each of the allies—Prussians, Austrians, and British—not for a combined invasion of France, but to secure some particular position which each desired; so that by the end of 1793 all three had been driven almost out of the field. A British squadron had blockaded the French fleet in Toulon harbour in order to support the Royalist insurgents who held Toulon town; but it was unable to prevent the Republican army from capturing the town—young Captain Buonaparte designed and carried out the plan which reduced it to surrender—and when Toulon fell it sailed away. 1793.

No better success attended the operations in 1794. Being practically unsupported by either Prussians or Austrians—both those governments being occupied by the Polish question—the British were driven out of the Netherlands. On the seas however they won the only success which fell to the allied arms in that year; old Lord Howe shattered a French squadron in the battle of 'the glorious First of June,' though he was unable to prevent the provision ships which it was escorting from reaching Brest in safety. On land, the French progress continued. At the end of the year French troops captured the Dutch fleet, ice-bound in the Texel. The Republican party in Holland were on the invader's side, and the Stadtholder William fled to England—where, however, he shortly afterwards made over to Great Britain 'for the period of the war' the Dutch Cape Colony in South Africa, lest it should fall into the hands of the French. 1794.

There was no improvement in 1795; the navy accomplished little; the new French Government mastered the insurgent Royalist districts of France; Prussia, Spain, and Holland dropped out of the coalition. In 1796 the two latter joined France; practically their fleets were transferred from one side to the other. Buonaparte wrecked the Austrian armies in North Italy. The threat to British naval supremacy was so serious that Admiral Jervis, commanding in the Mediterranean, was under orders to evacuate that sea when on 14th February 1797 he caught the larger Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent and shattered it, restoring the British mastery.

1795-6.

1797, St. Vincent.

By this time Buonaparte had cleared the Austrians out of North Italy. Though the Spanish fleet was out of action, the Dutch fleet under French control was preparing to take its place. The naval menace had not yet passed. It was revived by a mutiny in the Channel Fleet squadron at Spithead in April. The grievances of which the men complained were so gross that, through the intervention of Lord Howe, the mutineers were pardoned and all their demands were conceded. A second mutiny followed in May at the Nore, where the ringleaders—unlike those at Spithead—had been bitten by the French revolutionary doctrines. The Spithead men, who had been loyal throughout and declared their readiness to take their ships into action if the Dutch fleet came out of the Texel, joined zealously in the suppression of the Nore mutineers. Happily, the Dutch fleet was not ready to come out, and the danger passed. When it did come out in October, it was shattered by Admiral Duncan at Camperdown. But the Directory was already assured of the submission of Austria, and in answer to peace proposals from Pitt made demands impossible of acceptance by Great Britain. A week after Camperdown, the treaty of Campo Formio was signed, and Great Britain stood alone, at war with the triumphant Republic, which had taken the Netherlands from Austria, and Savoy from Sardinia, and had established what were practically dependent republics in North Italy and in Holland.

Camperdown.

III. The War with the Republic: (ii) 1797-1802.

The Egyptian Expedition—The Second Coalition—The End of the First War.

In a duel between France and Great Britain the British weapon of offence could only be the navy which cut off France from her oversea

commerce. France now had no oversea possessions to be attacked. France, on the other hand, might raid British commerce but had no chance of reaching and attacking British oversea dominions; but she might possibly find means of carrying an army of invasion to the shores of Great Britain, though in the face of the British fleet she had never succeeded in the attempt. Invasion was the one threat she could hold out, and in the months which followed Camperdown it appeared from the activity in her ports and the movements of her troops that the threat was to be put into execution.

1. Buonaparte's Egyptian Expedition, 1798.

No fleet could be spared to control the Mediterranean—where Nelson with three ships was watching Toulon—till May 1798. He was driven off by stress of weather just before the squadron joined him, and returned to find that a great fleet had meanwhile sailed from Toulon, but whither no one knew. He guessed that it had gone east to Egypt, not west, started in pursuit, passed it in a fog, spent June and July searching for it, and on 1st August found it lying in Aboukir Bay.

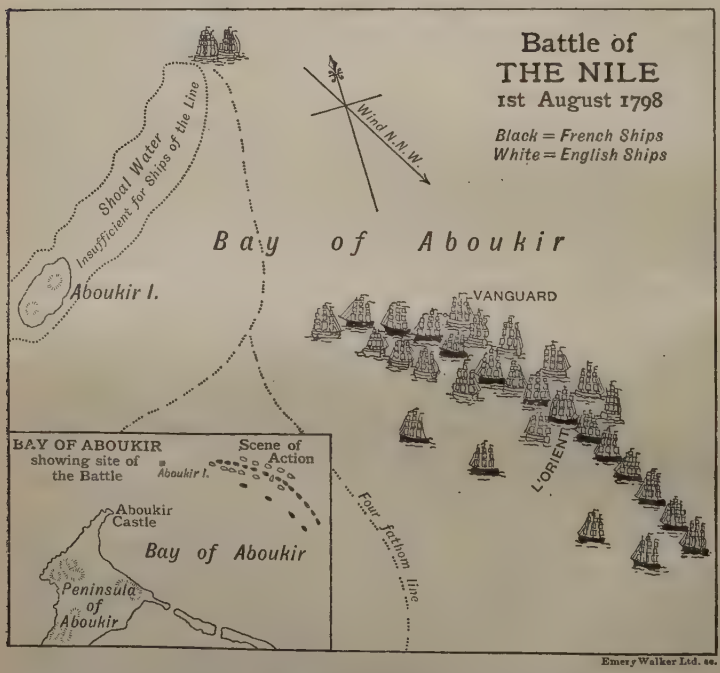
The French ships were swinging at anchor in a long line, from south to north, secured, as they thought, on their left by the shoals close to which they lay. Nelson bore down on them before a north wind. His leading ships passed down the narrow channel on the French left—which the French had supposed to be impossible—engaging the van as they came alongside. The rest came down the right, engaging the same ships, and crushing them between two fires. When the van had been destroyed the centre and rear were destroyed. Only two of the French ships escaped. The French Mediterranean fleet was wiped out, and the Mediterranean sea had become a British lake. The army which it had escorted to Egypt and landed a month before was completely cut off from all communication with France.

Battle of the Nile.

That army was under the command of Buonaparte. The whole design was his. Egypt was a province of the Turkish empire, and France was not at war with Turkey; but Egypt in French hands would be a base for securing Syria and Mesopotamia; and then Western Asia would be a base from which India could be conquered on one side and Europe threatened on the other—and the conqueror would be master of the world as no man had ever been before. That was the scheme which Nelson wrecked in the battle of Aboukir Bay, better known perhaps as the battle of the Nile. For when Buonaparte was utterly cut off from France, the conquest of which he

Buonaparte in Egypt.

dreamed became a sheer impossibility. When he sailed out of Toulon, the Mediterranean was an open sea, with no enemy fleet on its waters. He was already master of Egypt itself when the battle of the Nile was fought, having overthrown the army of the Mameluke rulers in the battle of the Pyramids ten days earlier. But all was changed by the great sea-fight. He could get no reinforcements, no supplies except



from the conquered country when he was cut off from his base in France, while the British fleet swept the Mediterranean.

There was another accidental result of Buonaparte's Egyptian expedition—it gave the British a new naval station in the Mediterranean.

Malta. On his way to Egypt he had seized Malta, compelling its rulers (the Knights of the Order of St. John, or Knights of Malta) to surrender their fortresses, and leaving a garrison. But the Maltese presently rose against the French, who after a long struggle

were driven out by British help; and at the entreaty of the Maltese themselves the island was finally added to the British Empire instead of being restored to the Knights of St. John. Since Minorca had been restored to Spain by the treaty of Versailles in 1783, the British had possessed no base within the Mediterranean, though they held Gibraltar at its entrance.

2. Acre, 1798.

For a year the young general was locked up in Egypt and Syria which he vainly attempted to conquer. In the fortress-port of Acre the Turks held out stubbornly against his attack, aided by the crews of a small British squadron commanded by Sir Sidney Smith, and Buonaparte was forced to raise the siege. He could not advance to the conquest of Syria while Acre lay on his flank, a gateway through which his communications with Egypt might be cut; and he could not take Acre while the British commanded the Mediterranean. Then he realised at last that his grand design was impossible to accomplish—and at the same moment news for the first time reached him from Europe of what had been happening there while his own eyes had been turned upon Asia.

The second Coalition.

France had brought down upon herself a new coalition of the Powers. She had excited religious sentiment, especially in Austria, by attacking the Papacy and turning its Italian dominions into another Italian Republic. The Russian Tsar Paul had been roused to wrath by the seizure of Malta from the Knights of St. John, a body of whom he conceived himself to be the Protector. The German princes in the Rhine provinces found themselves little better than subjects of the French Republic. Ferdinand, the Bourbon king of Naples or 'the Sicilies,' was afraid lest his kingdom—where he was extremely unpopular—should be turned into yet another Italian Republic. Prussia however was not to be tempted out of her neutrality.

While Pitt and the Tsar were endeavouring to unite a coalition, Ferdinand, encouraged by the presence of a British squadron at Naples, declared war on France. The only immediate result was that he had to flee from Naples to Sicily—which was secured from attack, by the British fleet—while the Italian half of his kingdom was turned into the 'Parthenopean Republic' (Parthenope being an ancient name of Naples). The Sicilian ports however became practically British ports. Then at the beginning of 1799 the coalition was completed; Russian as well as Austrian armies moved upon North Italy. The French armies

met with heavy reverses in the course of the spring and summer; by August it appeared that they would be driven clean out of Italy. Ferdinand was restored to his throne in Naples, aided thereto by Nelson. In France, in the face of the reverses, the authority of the Directory was waning; it seemed likely to go the way of the Girondists, of the Mountain, and of the Convention, and give place to a new government and yet another Constitution. This was the news which reached Buonaparte—or Bonaparte as he had taken to spelling his Corsican name—soon after he had withdrawn from the siege of Acre.

Now or never then he must return to France, seize control in his own hands, smite France's enemies, and establish Napoleon Bonaparte as the master of Europe. Of his own ability to achieve that end he had no doubts. Egypt must be left to take care of itself. With a few chosen and trusted comrades he secretly took boat from Egypt, leaving the army there under his second-in-command Kléber; slipped across the Mediterranean undiscovered, landed in the south of France, sped to Paris, and in the short struggle known as the *coup d'État* of Brumaire (November) overturned the Directory, and established the new government and the new Constitution. Under that Constitution the triumphant general, the 'Conqueror of Egypt,' was the absolute master of the State, though the title given him—First Consul—was borrowed from the ancient republic of Rome.

Bonaparte, First Consul.

The pressing military danger was already passing before Bonaparte's *coup d'État*. The British, campaigning in the Netherlands, met with a reverse; Austrians and Russians quarrelled in North Italy; a second Russian army was routed at Zurich by the French general Masséna. In effect Russia ceased to take active part in the war. In the spring of 1800 the First Consul swooped over the Alpine passes upon the Austrians in North Italy, routed them at Marengo, and forced them to retire from Italy, while another brilliant commander was driving another Austrian army back on the upper Danube. At the close of the year Moreau inflicted another crushing defeat on them at Hohenlinden; and in February 1801 Austria was again forced to sign a separate peace at Lunéville. Britain once more was left alone, to fight her duel with Bonaparte.

The Coalition broken up, 1800.

She was not merely alone. The Tsar was turning against her. He had loathed the French Republic, with its Jacobins and its Directories; but the First Consul was an autocrat like himself—a kind of ruler much more to his liking than a constitutional monarch such as King George. Besides, Britain had just acquired

Battle of the Baltic.

Malta, and was not hastening to reinstate there his own protégés the Knights of Malta. His quarrel with Austria had already disgusted him with the coalition. The British exercise of the right of search on the seas annoyed him as it had annoyed the Baltic Powers in 1780, and he was reconstructing the 'Armed Neutrality' of that time. The British Government, dependent on naval supremacy for the protection of commerce, and of the islands from invasion, could not take the risk of a maritime combination being formed which would endanger that supremacy. A British fleet appeared before Copenhagen and demanded the surrender of the Danish fleet to British safe-keeping till the war should be over. The Danes refused, and the battle of the Baltic followed on 2nd April—a battle in which Nelson, who was second-in-command, disregarded the signal to retire, won a complete victory, and so compelled the Danes to surrender their fleet. The step could be defended only on the ground that, although Britain and Denmark were at peace, Denmark in joining the Armed Neutrality was really taking hostile action which justified strong measures.

The blow practically dissolved the Armed Neutrality; for almost at the moment when the battle was being fought, Tsar Paul was assassinated; and the son who succeeded him, Alexander I., was a warm admirer of Britain. The other Baltic States had no wish to be treated like Denmark. Since Denmark no longer had a fleet, the British commanded the entry to the Baltic Sea—and so that menace to England passed.

A few days before the battle, the British had won unlooked-for success in another quarter. Hitherto, mainly owing to the incapacity of their commanders, British troops had not distinguished themselves on land. Nevertheless, an expedition had just been despatched to Egypt. The general, Sir Ralph Abercromby, had landed his raw troops in the teeth of a superior force of French veterans, at Aboukir Bay on 8th March, pushed the French back on Alexandria, and there won a decisive victory on 21st March. Though Abercromby was killed, the overthrow of the French dominion in Egypt was assured; two months later Alexandria itself capitulated, on terms which permitted or required the withdrawal of the whole French force to France.

Egypt.

For the moment Pitt had ceased to be at the head of the British Government. He had felt bound to resign—along with his ablest colleagues—on account of King George's conscientious but misguided refusal to sanction the concession of Catholic Emancipation for Ireland

to which the great minister had pledged himself. The Addington ministry which took office in March consisted mainly of those among Pitt's followers, who had not, like him, definitely pledged themselves to that particular measure. To the best of their power they carried on his policy in other respects, while he lent them a somewhat contemptuous and critical support.

There were no more military operations. The rest of the year was occupied in negotiations for peace, both sides being exhausted and anxious to cease or at any rate to suspend hostilities. In March 1802 the Peace of Amiens was signed, though it proved to be no more than an uneasy truce, to be followed in fourteen months by the renewal of the war.

Peace, 1802.

Until March 1801, Pitt in England had kept the conduct of the war in his own hands. The king and the great bulk of the nation were with him in the resolve to resist French aggression to the last and to stand by the allies to the last; though Austria alone was equally loyal, and only deserted him when annihilation for herself seemed the only alternative. Even before the war there had been a Whig element in his ministry; a substantial and increasing section of that party, headed by Burke, supported his war policy, and during the war definitely joined the Government. Only the small but able section led by Fox remained in hot opposition, denouncing the war and openly rejoicing in French victories. He resigned, not because his war policy was unpopular, but because he was forbidden to pass the Catholic Emancipation to which he was pledged.

IV. The Struggle with Napoleon: (i) 1802-1807.

Renewal of War—The Trafalgar Campaign—Austerlitz, Jena, and Tilsit.

The Addington ministry which actually made the Peace of Amiens twelve months after Pitt's resignation was a weak one. The terms of the Peace were denounced by the 'Portland' Whigs who had given their support to Pitt, as surrendering too much. It was a Peace of which it was said that every one was glad but no one was proud of it; for the country was so exhausted that peace was very much needed. Bonaparte—who about this time began to use his Christian name, Napoleon, as kings do, though he was only called the First Consul of the French Republic—wanted to rest from campaigning that he might organise the French government to his own liking, and secure his control over the dependent republics and the German princi-

1. Need for peace, 1802.

palities. But it was difficult to believe that his ambitions ended there; and French control over States outside France was not in the bargain the British ministers meant to make with him. It was however in the bargain that the British should evacuate Malta and Egypt.

From the outset the British suspected that as soon as they were out of Malta and Egypt, Napoleon intended to carry out a policy directed to the injury of the British Empire and the establishment of his own supremacy on the Continent. They delayed their evacuations and protested against the hardly veiled control that France was exercising over her smaller neighbours. Napoleon on his side implied that what he did on the Continent was no business of theirs, that they were breaking faith about the evacuations, and that they were encouraging the émigrés who, from their asylum in England, were issuing denunciations of the 'Corsican usurper' and his government. In May 1803 Napoleon declared war on Great Britain, and imprisoned all British subjects then in France.

War renewed, 1803.

As in 1797-8, Britain could only strike at France by clearing the seas of her sea-borne commerce; France could only strike at Britain by raids on her commerce, by seeking to shut it out from continental markets, and by threatening invasion. For two years that menace was hanging over the British Isles, while Napoleon gathered at Boulogne and other ports the armies which were to be launched against them and the transports in which the French fleet was to convoy them over when the British fleet should be cleared out of the way for a sufficient number of days or hours. But the opportunity did not come.

The shadow of invasion.

Meanwhile, in May 1804, Pitt returned to the helm in England, consenting to defer the Catholic question in view of the emergency. The Portland Whigs returned with him; and Fox himself would have joined in a National Coalition Ministry but for the king's positive refusal to admit him to office. Other events of a startling character were taking place abroad. In March a Bourbon plot was discovered in Paris; as a result of the discovery, a French prince, the Duc d'Enghien, who was residing in neutral territory in the German duchy of Baden, was kidnapped, carried over the French border, and after a hasty sham trial was shot as a traitor. The crime was intended to terrorise the Bourbons. Immediately afterwards, in May, Napoleon proclaimed himself no longer First Consul but Emperor of the French. But in Europe the crime, and the assumption of the imperial title, had an effect not expected

Return of Pitt, 1804.

Napoleon Emperor.

by Napoleon. The conscience of the world was shocked; the young Tsar Alexander was particularly horrified; and from that hour he set himself to the formation of a new coalition against Napoleon—the first need being agreement with Pitt, who shared his views, for united action, as to the parts which they were to take respectively and were to invite others to take in the combined attack. This was anything but easy, for the Tsar wished the British to concede points which were necessary to the full exercise of her naval power; and no other Power was zealous to take any action from which any one else would derive more benefit than itself.

Napoleon was soon aware that negotiations were in progress—and of the difficulties in the way of the negotiators. During the rest of the year he was preparing the great design which he intended to carry out before any new coalition should be ready to move; for which, if it failed, he could substitute a crushing blow against his foes on the Continent.

2. Napoleon and Britain.

THERE is very little doubt that from the time when Napoleon first came to the forefront in 1796 he had regarded Britain as the most serious obstacle in the way of his great ambition—of winning for France the mastery of the world, as well as, for himself, the mastery of France. His own armies in the field could, he was confident, overcome the armies of any combination; there was no doubt about it at least, unless other Powers were constantly enabled to raise and equip fresh armies by subsidies from England's wealth. That wealth she drew from her Empire and her commercial supremacy: if she lost either, she would lose the other too. Both depended on her mastery of the seas; but Napoleon conceived that he could destroy one or other without first destroying her mastery of the seas, which would follow as a matter of course. Hence he had planned his Egyptian expedition to rob her of India—and his design had been foiled by the British navy. He planned now to strike at her heart by an invasion, and the British navy foiled him again. He was still to try a third plan, of ruining her commerce, and again he was to be foiled, as we shall see, by the British navy. But he never saw that so long as the British navy kept the command of the seas, he could destroy neither her Empire, nor her commerce, nor the wealth with which she helped his other antagonists to resist him.

But this time he did see that the navy was the grand obstacle which must be cleared out of the way for a time if the projected invasion was to be carried out. The immediate design was to clear it out of the

way. It was holding every French port outside the Mediterranean under blockade—Nelson was not blockading Toulon, because he wanted the fleet there to come out and fight him. Napoleon's plan was that the fleet should come out, not to fight him but to run away, drawing him off in pursuit, to play hide and seek with him, double back, and attack the British squadron watching Brest. The Brest squadron would come out, and between them the watching squadron would be crushed. This would force the Channel Fleet to concentrate against them, and the army of invasion would have time to cross the narrow seas unattacked. Once it was landed, it would make short work of the British regular army and volunteers, and there would be no more British Empire.

The Toulon Fleet.

At the end of March 1805, Villeneuve slipped out of Toulon and out of the Mediterranean, evading Nelson, and sailed for the West Indies. He got a long start of Nelson, who sailed in pursuit, and was hunting him vainly through May and June, when Villeneuve doubled back. A swift frigate from Nelson carried a warning to London, and a look-out squadron was promptly despatched under Calder. It sighted Villeneuve's returning fleet off Ferrol. The Frenchman saw that there was no possible chance of surprising the Brest squadron, and after a short engagement with Calder's smaller squadron ran for the Spanish port of Vigo, Spain being in alliance with France. Napoleon's plan was wiped out (July).

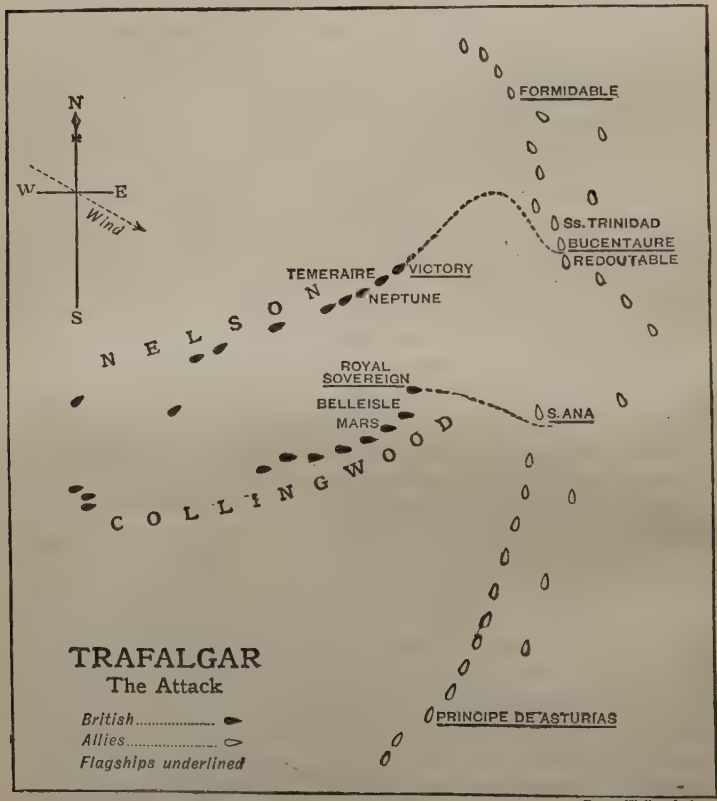
Hide and seek.

In August the new coalition of Austria, Russia, and Great Britain was formed. Nelson was back in England. The Spanish ports were almost unguarded. Villeneuve moved to Cadiz where there was now a large Franco-Spanish fleet. Nelson rejoined and reinforced the Gibraltar squadron. Villeneuve, taunted by Napoleon for cowardice, came out of Cadiz. Nelson on 21st October sighted his fleet in Trafalgar Bay, descended upon it not in the usual single line but in two parallel attacking lines, pierced it in front and rear of the centre, to the support of which the van could not return against the wind, and practically destroyed the whole centre and rear—himself falling in the hour of the great victory; which left the British for the rest of the war with a command of the seas as complete as it had been after Quiberon in the Seven Years' War.

Trafalgar, 21st Oct. 1805.

NAPOLEON however was already executing his alternative design. The Austrians were massing troops for the invasion of Italy at Ulm on the upper Danube; in the east, the Russians and a second Austrian army

were gathering. Napoleon was still apparently intent upon the invasion of England when he suddenly dropped the mask and swooped
3. Austerlitz, Dec. 1805. instead upon the Austrians at Ulm, where the whole great force was trapped and compelled to surrender the day before Trafalgar. Having advanced on Vienna, which he



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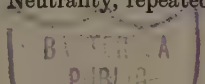
occupied, he met and crushed the Russian army at Austerlitz (3rd December), the most brilliant perhaps of all his victories. The Austrians could make no further resistance, and submitted to the treaty of Pressburg, the Russians retiring in dudgeon. The blow broke up at a stroke the resistance of Europe to the conqueror. The world had not realised the meaning of Trafalgar. Nelson had died in inflicting the

decisive defeat—from the British point of view—on Napoleon. Three months later Pitt died, all but believing that the decisive victory was not Trafalgar but Austerlitz. And once more Britain stood practically alone, still defiant; but mistress of the seas, and secure against invasion.

Yet for a brief moment she did not stand alone. Prussia for eleven years, under Frederick William II. and Frederick William III., had held aloof from all the coalitions, judging that her own interests were best served by neutrality. But now the contempt with which Napoleon treated her roused her from her apathy. Confident in the military power which had not been put to the test since the days of Frederick the Great, she flung defiance at the Emperor of the French. On one day her armies were shattered at Jena and Auerstadt, and Prussia lay under Napoleon's heel, while her king took refuge with the Russian Tsar. Jena, 1806.

Russia was the one foe still in arms. Out of some lesser German States, Napoleon formed the kingdom of Westphalia for his youngest brother Jerome; the rest were combined in the Confederation of the Rhine. Then he turned on Russia, met with a heavy reverse at Eylau, but in the early summer of 1807 defeated the Russians again in the desperate battle of Friedland. Alexander, disgusted with Austria, Prussia, and England, was ready now for an alliance in which Napoleon was to control the West and Russia the East. The bargain was struck at Tilsit; and Frederick William was contemptuously restored in Prussia as Napoleon's vassal; while his share of Poland was turned into the duchy of Warsaw, and was handed over to the submissive king of Saxony. Tilsit, 1807.

Meanwhile in England Pitt's death had been followed by a general coalition known as the 'Ministry of All the Talents,' which Fox himself joined, though a few months later he followed Pitt to the grave. But the personal rivalries and political differences of the ministers were too strong for unity. The ministry broke up, and the new government then formed had for its nominal head the duke of Portland, with George Canning at the Foreign Office, and his rival Castlereagh Minister for War. The last ministry in 1806 had wasted its energies on a campaign in South Italy, in which British troops defeated a French force at Maida, but being unsupported was obliged to retire from the country. On the other hand, George Canning in 1807, when it appeared certain that the Tsar was joining Napoleon and would revive the Armed Neutrality, repeated the stroke by which that British ministries.



project had been foiled in the last war. A British fleet sailed to Copenhagen, demanded the surrender of the Danish fleet, and bombarded the Danish capital into submission.

V. The Struggle with Napoleon: (ii) 1807-1812.

The Continental System—The Defiance of Spain and Portugal—The Peninsular War.

NAPOLEON, ever since he became First Consul, had striven to exclude British commerce from Europe, but had of course been unable to shut it out from neutral or allied ports. France, the Netherlands, Spain, and North Italy had been closed. After Jena he issued the Berlin decree declaring that all British ports were in a state of blockade (though as a fact there could not be any blockade), which meant that any neutral vessel bound for a 'blockaded' port was liable to seizure. When Russia joined him in the treaty of Tilsit, she too closed her ports. Under Napoleon's pressure, British shipping and British merchandise were shut out of every port on the Continent from the Baltic right round to the Adriatic—except in Portugal, which he could not pretend that he had any right to control. Britain retorted by the 'Orders in Council,' declaring that all ports from which she was excluded were in a state of blockade; and as her fleets swept the seas that meant that Europe was practically cut off from all sea-borne commerce. Britain wanted some European goods, chiefly spirits; Europe was in absolute need of quantities of goods which could only come from over the sea in British or American vessels—and the 'blockade' under the Orders in Council gave the Americans very little chance. Europe, cut off from sea-borne goods, suffered much more acutely than Britain cut off from markets in which to sell her goods.

1. The Berlin Decree.

Still if commerce could have been completely closed, Britain would have been drained of her life blood, the wealth which she was able to convert into war-material—unless the Continent, deprived of so many necessaries, were the first to give way under the strain, which would certainly have been the case.

The Continental System.

As an actual matter of fact Europe could not endure the strain, even when the closure was not complete. Though the ports were closed there was the leakage through Portugal; and besides this there grew up an immense smuggling trade, full of danger of course for the smugglers, but very paying. British goods found their way in, in such

quantities and at such prices as reduced the strain on Britain to a point which was not unendurable, but still kept the strain on Europe intolerable. In course of time one State after another strove to throw off the fetters laid upon it by Napoleon, one after another felt the life being crushed out of it; and the 'Continental System,' as Napoleon called his grand plan, probably did more than anything else to drive the peoples of Europe into the final revolt against the tyranny of Napoleon which wrought his downfall.

But Napoleon did not foresee this. He knew that Britain's power would perish if her commerce were killed. He believed that he could kill it, if Europe were closed to it from Petersburg to Lisbon and from Lisbon to Constantinople. Europe could not be closed while there was a single country which refused to submit, willingly or unwillingly, to his dictation. Tilsit had brought the Baltic ports into the ring-fence. The eastern Mediterranean would soon follow.

But Portugal was obstinate, and there was just a chance that Spain might turn troublesome. Her half-imbecile king Charles IV. was ruled by his bad wife and she by her bad favourite Godoy, while the young Crown Prince Ferdinand only required to oppose Godoy to become a hero in the eyes of the Spanish people. Spain therefore was not to be trusted. To make more of Spain and Portugal, Napoleon must get the government of both countries into his own hands. An easy matter, it seemed; since neither would dare to resist him even if it wished to do so, while no European State would come to the aid of either. He had already made himself king of one of the Italian republics, one brother king of Holland, another king of Westphalia, a third king of Naples; there were more of his kinsmen who were quite ready for vacant thrones.

Portugal and Spain, 1807-8.

So at the end of 1807 he ordered Portugal to declare war on Britain. The Crown Prince—acting as regent for the reigning queen, who was insane—refused. A French force marched on Lisbon and occupied it, while the prince escaped on a British ship to the great Portuguese colony of Brazil. Early in 1808 Napoleon enticed both Charles IV. and Ferdinand over the French border, compelled both to surrender the Spanish crown, and proclaimed his own brother Joseph king of Spain instead of Naples, which he passed over to his sister's husband Marshal Murat.

THE Emperor had set in motion hostile forces of which he had never dreamed. Hitherto he had waged war against Governments, shattered

their armies in the field, occupied their capital cities, and dictated his terms. But now he had stirred to fury a people which was left without any Government, but was determined to resist to the last gasp, by any possible means, and at any possible sacrifice. Edward I. had found in Scotland a country which might be forced to a moment's submission but could not be subdued. Napoleon was to find Spain similarly unconquerable. Before the month of May 1808 was out, every province of Spain was in a blaze of insurrection. A sort of Central Government was set up—as the official Government, ruling in the name of King Ferdinand, which Great Britain promptly recognised—but the real resistance came from the several provinces and the irregular forces raised in them; while King Joseph had to rely wholly on French armies. And there was a second force of which Napoleon had made light—the contemptible British army, which had hitherto been almost of no account, though the troops had shown good fighting quality in Egypt and at Maida. But that army was now to play a part in the Peninsula which had no small share in shattering the Conqueror's ambitions. For to the British the sea was an open high-road to Portugal, from which blows could be launched against French armies in Spain.

2. Spain defiant, 1808.

Britain intervenes.

The British Government then resolved to liberate Portugal, which was under the control of the French general Junot and his comparatively small army at Lisbon, and to use it as a base for aiding the Spanish insurgents, who in July succeeded in capturing a body of French troops at Baylen. As yet Napoleon was satisfied that the Spanish resistance would soon be crushed. In August an expeditionary force was landed in the north of Portugal. Until the arrival of two senior officers, Dalrymple and Burrard, it was under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had recently distinguished himself greatly in India. Junot advanced against him in superior force and was decisively defeated at Vimiero. At the moment of victory Dalrymple and Burrard arrived and took over the command. The victory was not pressed; Junot was able to retire to Lisbon, where he had to agree to the Convention of Cintra, which roused the wrath both of Napoleon and of the British public. Junot and his whole force were not made prisoners of war, but evacuated Portugal and were taken back to France on British ships. The protection and control of Portugal passed into British hands. The three British generals were recalled, for inquiry into their conduct, and their place was taken by Sir John Moore.

Vimiero.

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Napoleon had no doubt that the British could easily be driven back into the sea. The complete subjection of Spain was the first business in hand, so that he might be free to carry out other projects for completing his mastery of Europe. He took it in hand himself, swept over Spain in a brief and irresistible campaign, and then found that Moore with his small force had advanced into Northern Spain and was threatening his own line of communication with France. Underrating the resistance which was to be offered in the Peninsula, he withdrew to France, leaving Spain and Portugal to be dealt with by Marshal Soult.

Sir John Moore.

Moore must be crushed, and to crush him Soult advanced on the north. The necessary withdrawal of troops from the south enabled it to flame out again. Moore did not wait to be crushed, but led a masterly retreat to the coast at Corunna—with Soult hard on his heels—where he expected a British squadron to take his troops off. Before he could embark Soult was on him, but was completely repulsed (January 1809). Moore himself was killed, but his force was taken off—and the whole business of conquering Southern Spain had to be done all over again.

In the spring of 1809 Wellesley (who was presently made Viscount Wellington), having completely vindicated his conduct at and after Vimiero, returned to take up the command in Portugal. For four years he made the subjugation of the Peninsula impossible to the series of Napoleon's most brilliant marshals to whom the Emperor entrusted the task, never again taking it into his own hands. In the fifth year Wellington drove the French out of Spain altogether. During those four years he had compelled Napoleon to keep in Spain an army so large that in the fifth year the Emperor could only make head against the uprising of the rest of Europe by withdrawing from the Peninsula forces which still proved insufficient to avert his fall. Wellington and the Spanish people and Spanish irregulars accomplished this between them, though the French had nearly a quarter of a million men, and Wellington never had more than 40,000 British troops with which to win his victories. For the Spanish regular troops were of little use, and the pitched battles were practically fought and won by British troops alone. And all the time Wellington knew that if he met with a single serious defeat he would probably be recalled.

3. 1809, Wellington.

For four years Wellington was never able to strike a decisive blow. Like Frederick in the Seven Years' War, he won great victories which for the time paralysed an enemy who was always at the same time in great strength in some other part of the Peninsula. He had hardly reached Portugal in 1809 when he flung himself on Soult at Oporto and drove him over the border. He advanced into Spain, shattered a great French army at Talavera, and entered Madrid, amidst the acclamations of the populace. But two more armies were advancing on him on either side, and he had to fall back into Portugal.

Talavera, 1809.

In 1810 Napoleon gave the command against Wellington to Masséna, a general of the highest class. The northern and southern gateways of Portugal were by way of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. In May Masséna with an overwhelming force captured Ciudad Rodrigo. Wellington offered a check to his advance upon Lisbon at Busaco, and repulsed his attack, but was obliged himself to fall back; when Masséna suddenly found his way to Lisbon completely blocked by the 'lines of Torres Vedras,' entrenchments impossible to turn by flanking and too strong to be carried by any frontal attack. While Wellington was checking his approach, all supplies from the country had been swept in and stored behind those lines, as well as numbers of the rural population. Behind was the sea, the open way of communication with England. Behind Masséna, his lines of communication were constantly raided by the Spanish irregulars. Month after month his army lay before Torres Vedras, vainly trying to discover some means of breaking through. Supplies were hardly procurable. Winter came. Not the besieged but the besiegers were starved out, and early in 1811 Masséna began his retirement from Portuguese territory, with Wellington's troops dogging his retreat. Almeida, the twin fortress to Ciudad Rodrigo, was captured after a vain attempt on Masséna's part to relieve it had been defeated in the fierce fight of Fuentes d'Oñoro.

Torres Vedras, 1810-11.

Meanwhile in the south Soult, still engaged in the struggle of subduing Andalusia, where the Spanish Government still defied him at Cadiz, had captured and garrisoned Badajoz, but made no further effort to help the rival marshal, Masséna. A small force of British and Portuguese was sent under Beresford to recover Badajoz, and covered itself with glory by defeating Soult himself with an immensely superior force at Albuera; but to take Badajoz was beyond its power.

Napoleon vented his wrath on Masséna, whose place was taken by

Marmont. Farther advance into Spain was impossible, and again Wellington fell back into Portugal. But in the early spring of 1812 he struck suddenly and hard. Ciudad Rodrigo was captured; Badajoz was stormed after a desperate struggle. Wellington held the gates between Portugal and Spain. The communications between Marmont and Soult were cut. Then followed a duel between Marmont and Wellington, each manœuvring to force a battle on the other on his own terms. At last the armies met at Salamanca (22nd July). Marmont attempted an enveloping movement; Wellington saw his opportunity, at the critical moment pierced the extended line and rolled it up, though the skill of Marmont's second-in-command—for the marshal himself was disabled—saved it from annihilation. Once more, after an apparently overwhelming victory, Wellington was forced, by the long-delayed approach of armies from other quarters, to retire to Portugal. But the triumphant end of the struggle was at hand.

Salamanca, 1812.

VI. The Struggle with Napoleon: (iii) 1812-1815.

The Fall of Napoleon—The Return—Waterloo.

It is probably true that if Napoleon had flung himself with his whole force against Wellington, the British would have been driven into the sea. He never did so, partly because he never realised the tremendous difficulties of the task he imposed on his generals, the need for his own personal control to overrule the dissensions and rivalries between them by which those difficulties were greatly increased. Believing that his generals could have no excuse for failing, he always expected to be rid of the Spanish problem, and would not allow it to interfere with his other schemes. He wanted recognition for himself, as a prince on the same level as those of the proudest dynasties of Europe. In 1809—Wellington's first year—his mastery was once more challenged by Austria; she was overthrown in the Wagram campaign, and the Austrian emperor (the old title of the Holy Roman Empire had been dropped in 1806) was humiliated by being forced to give an Austrian princess in marriage to the Corsican adventurer. A coldness was growing between Napoleon and the Tsar who in 1810 reopened his ports to British commerce. Thenceforth Napoleon's main purpose was to force Russia back into the Continental System; through 1811 the breach was widening, and in 1812

1. Napoleon's error, 1809-12.

Napoleon plunged into the great Moscow expedition, which ended in utter disaster before the end of the year.

In June 1812, when Wellington and Marmont were manœuvring before Salamanca, Napoleon launched his Grand Army against Russia. In September he reached Moscow. In October he realised that conquest was impossible; he could not hold his line of communications or obtain supplies. He began his retreat; the Russians fought no pitched battles, but they harassed the retreating army, keeping it in a state of starvation; only a remnant of the four or five hundred thousand men who had started got back into Prussia in December—and then Prussia rose. Even then Napoleon raised new armies, and won astonishing victories, through the summer of 1814. But in the autumn Austria and Sweden joined the new coalition; practically all Europe was in arms against him; at the great battle of Leipzig in October he was overwhelmed by sheer numbers; and though even Leipzig did not crush him, from that time he and France were fighting desperately for bare life.

Moscow, 1812.

Leipzig, 1813.

But the uprising of Europe had forced him to withdraw large forces from Spain, at last giving Wellington the opportunity not merely of winning another victory but of striking a decisive blow. At Vittoria in June he shattered the army of France in Spain. In December the last French forces—splendidly led by Soult—were driven over the Pyrenees into France.

Vittoria, 1813.

There in the south-western corner Soult still held him stubbornly in check, while Napoleon was making his last stand against the gathering armies of Europe. From every side—north-east, east, south-east—they were pressing upon Paris. The end had come. In April 1814 the Emperor abdicated, even at the moment when Soult and Wellington were fighting their last indecisive engagement at Toulouse.

The war was over. The allies took over the business of reconstructing Europe. Napoleon was mocked with the 'principality' of the small island of Elba, off the shores of Italy, whither he was permitted to retire, caged in captivity. The allies restored the Bourbon monarchy of France; the brother of Louis XVI.—the king who had perished in 1793 and whose young son after him had perished in prison—occupied the throne as Louis XVIII.; and a Congress of the allies was summoned to meet at Vienna in October—to rearrange Europe.

Elba, 1814.

Europe had been at war not with the Bourbon kingdom of France but with the Corsican Emperor. France was admitted to take part

in the Congress along with the Four Powers which had overwhelmed Napoleon—Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain. Napoleon being out of the way, the resettlement of Europe was a matter for agreement among the Five. The doings of the Congress will be dealt with in a later chapter. Here it is enough to say that in that winter it was so far from reaching agreement that the former allies seemed on the verge of war among themselves when the startling news arrived that Napoleon had escaped from Elba (February 1815), reached France, and was hastening to Paris at the head of the troops which were everywhere rallying to his standard, joined by one after another even of those generals who had sworn allegiance to the restored Bourbon monarchy. The Powers laid aside their differences to concert measures against the new peril; but by the end of March, King Louis had fled to Ghent, and Napoleon was in Paris.

The Return, 1815.

No army in Europe was ready for war. Napoleon was master of France, though not of the dependent states which, generally speaking, had been restored to their former rulers. No one could strike at him; with terrific energy he set himself to organise an army with which he could himself strike at the allies' first line of defence before the Russian and Austrian masses could be moved up to their support. The first line was weak enough—the Prussian army under Blücher, and a collection of Brunswickers, Hanoverians, troops from minor North German states, Dutch and Belgians who were at best half-hearted. By the beginning of June Wellington was in charge of them, together with some thirty thousand British troops—mostly half-trained recruits, not the Peninsula veterans. Blücher's headquarters were at Namur with an advanced post at Charleroi; Wellington's were at Brussels, but his forces were not yet shaped and posted. Napoleon's troops were massing at Valenciennes. His scheme was on lines which had brought him repeated triumphs, to strike between the two enemy forces before they could form into one army, drive off the Prussians, crush Wellington, and then make an end of the Prussians—after which he would have a clear field for dealing with the Austrians and Russians, as he had dealt with them at Austerlitz.

2. Napoleon and the Allies.

On 12th June Napoleon was ready; Wellington and Blücher were not. The gap was still between them when the thunderbolt fell. On 15th June the French force sprang upon Charleroi and flung back

the Prussian advanced troops. Blücher with his main force had taken post at Ligny, to hold the road east to Namur. On the 16th, Napoleon flung himself upon Ligny, despatching a force under Marshal Ney to hold the cross-roads at Quatre Bras so that Wellington could not come down from the north to support Blücher. The intention was that Ney, having secured Quatre Bras, should fling his main force on the Prussian flank at Ligny and complete its rout.

Ligny and Quatre Bras, 16th June.

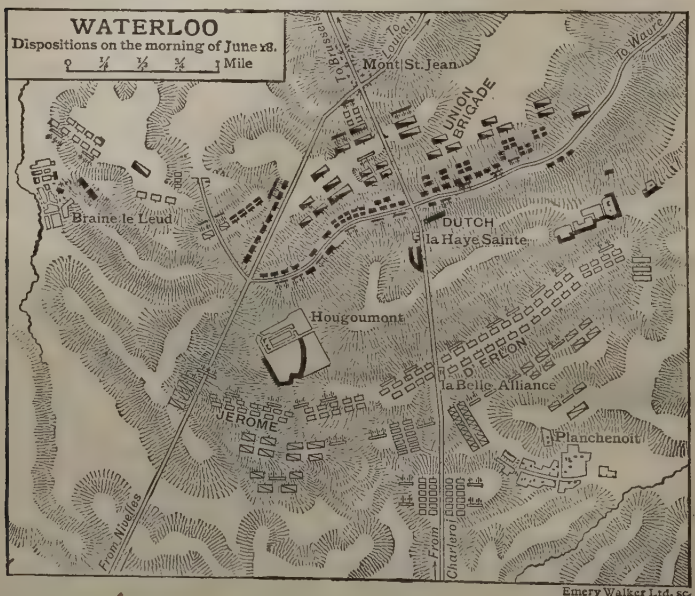
But the action fell a little short of what was intended. Ney never secured Quatre Bras. Not Wellington's army, but some British regiments, hurried down to that point during the day, held it and kept him fully engaged. Napoleon fought the battle of Ligny without him, and drove Blücher off the field, but not in disorderly rout. The old marshal seemed to be falling back to his base at Namur, where he would be entirely cut off from any possibility of moving to the support of Wellington. Napoleon despatched a column under Grouchy to take care of the defeated Prussians, while he himself with the main army advanced to annihilate Wellington. To all appearance the operations were working out successfully according to plan. But Napoleon did not guess that Blücher, instead of falling back on Namur—the prudent course—had taken the risk of leaving Namur uncovered and wheeled north to Wavre, from which he hoped still to come up to Wellington's support, as he could not possibly have done from Namur. And Grouchy, misled partly by his orders from Napoleon and partly by false information, was marching in pursuit of him—in the wrong direction.

Meanwhile the Duke—he had recently been raised to the higher title—had chosen and on 17th June was occupying the position at Mont St. Jean or Waterloo, where he meant to give battle to Napoleon. His troops numbered something less, Napoleon's something more, than 70,000 men. Two-fifths of them were British, with about the same number of trustworthy German troops; the remainder, Dutch and Belgian, could not be relied on. The army held the ridge of a low hill, and on the approaching slope the chateau of Hougoumont on the right and the farm of La Haye Sainte in the centre. The position covered the way to Brussels. Napoleon's army, much the stronger in artillery and cavalry, occupied the ridge facing him, with a valley between, and with the village of Planchenoit on the right flank. But Napoleon had never before been faced by British troops, and would not believe the warnings of Soult—who was with him and had learnt by hard experience—that they would

The Stand, 17th June.

hold their ground in a much shallower line than any forces with which Napoleon had ever been engaged. And he did not know as Wellington did that away at Wavre Blücher had his forces almost in fighting trim again, while Grouchy was still hunting for him elsewhere.

THAT night the ground was drenched with rain, and on the following morning, Sunday 18th June, Napoleon did not open his attack till near
3. Waterloo, 18th June. midday, that the cavalry on which he relied might operate better on the drying soil. His purpose was to pierce Wellington's centre and roll him up to right and left. To hold the



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British right, Hougoumont was first attacked, but it was held magnificently by the Guards. While the struggle there was going on, D'Erlon's infantry were hurled against La Haye Sainte and the left centre. The 'German legion' held the farm as stoutly as the Guards held the chateau, but on the ridge the Dutch broke. A furious cavalry charge however hurled the French back down the slope, and then began a series of French cavalry charges; but on the crest the British infantry threw themselves into squares against which the French flung

themselves in vain till they in turn were swept back by British cavalry charges.

But the French horse were not supported by the infantry for two reasons: the indomitable resistance of Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte kept a part of it fully engaged, while another part was drawn off to cover the French right at Planchenoit. For the Prussians were coming—late but not too late. Grouchy had failed in his task. When they were first seen approaching, Napoleon believed that they were Grouchy's own column coming to support him, not an enemy taking him in flank: it was not till still later that he realised that they were arriving in heavy force. Then he made his desperate effort to shatter Wellington's line at all costs before it should be too late. The Germans were actually driven out of La Haye Sainte, and the masses of the invincible Imperial Guard, hitherto held in reserve, were hurled in column formation against the British centre. The column is a mass many ranks deep, but with a narrow front, a sort of battering-ram, while the shallow British line extending right and left was like a palisade to be crashed through. But the flanks as well as the front of the column are open to the musketry fire of the extended line. Before the battering-ram could reach the palisade the column was shattered. On its left, the British right swung forward as if on a hinge, poured a heavy fire on it, broke its formation, then charged and drove it reeling down the slope. Even then the Prussians, in force, were storming through Planchenoit on the right flank of Napoleon's army, rolling it up. The British line swept forward; the French army broke in a rout which soon became a headlong flight, pursued far into the night by the Prussians, for the British were too much worn out by the great fight to take part in the pursuit.

The Prussians.

Victory.

Wellington had performed his task. It is possible though by no means certain that if the Prussians had not arrived he would have been driven from his position. But he fought on the calculation that they would arrive, trusting to Blücher's assurances; he held Napoleon through the long day of desperate fighting till they did arrive, forced him at the last to stake everything on the tremendous effort of the Imperial Guard, and shattered that effort. The arrival of the Prussians turned a battle in which victory still hung in the balance into an absolutely overwhelming triumph. The world recognised not in Blücher but in Wellington the man who freed Europe from Napoleon.

Napoleon himself was a fugitive; his army had ceased to exist. Blücher and Wellington advanced upon Paris where Napoleon on his arrival found none who would support him. In less than a month after Waterloo was lost and won, the fallen Emperor surrendered himself at the port of Rochefort to the commander of the *Bellerophon*. In his own character there was no generosity, and at the hands of his foes he met with none. The conqueror of Europe was sent to eat his heart out on the lonely rock of St. Helena far away in the south Atlantic, where he died six years later.

St. Helena.

SUMMARIES

Treaties: 1789-1815.

Treaty of Amiens, 1802, between Britain and France. Egypt to be evacuated by the British and restored to the Turkish empire. Malta to be evacuated and restored to the Knights of St. John. The Cape to be restored to Holland. In India, French trading stations to be restored. Of her captures, Britain to retain only Ceylon and Trinidad. France evaded any undertaking to withdraw or abstain from extending her control over dependent States on the Continent.

Treaties of Paris and Vienna, 1814-1815. *Resettlement of Europe:* France reduced to the boundaries as in 1790; Bourbon monarchy restored under Louis XVIII., with limited parliamentary institutions; an allied army of occupation to be maintained for five years as a guarantee. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw was reconstituted as the Kingdom of Poland, with the Russian Tsar as its king. As Prussia did not recover most of her shares in the earlier partitions of Poland, she received as compensation the Rhine principalities which Napoleon had made into the kingdom of Westphalia. Belgium was added to Holland, of which William of Orange became King instead of Stadtholder. The Bourbon monarchies were restored in Spain and the Sicilies. Piedmont was restored to the King of Sardinia. George III. became King of Hanover instead of Elector. Pre-war dynasties were generally restored in their old domains. All the German States were associated in a loose Confederation dominated by Austria and Prussia. Britain retained (of what had been captured since 1803 or had been at that time held by her under unfulfilled promise of evacuation) Malta, the Mauritius, Cape Colony, and the protectorate of the Ionian Islands on the west of the Balkan peninsula—all of them of great value to her naval security. Also, owing to her insistence, agreements were secured for the suppression of the

African slave-trade, in which, in the past, she had taken the most active and profitable part, but of which she had now learnt to be bitterly ashamed.

Treaty of Ghent, 1814, between Britain and the United States, ended the hostilities between the combatants, but left unsettled the questions in dispute.

Chronology: 1789-1815 (a).

1789. *Fall of the Bastille.*
1791. Canada Act.
1792. Warren Hastings acquitted.
France declares war on Austria.
Sept. September Massacres.
„ *French Republic proclaimed.*
1793. *Jan. Louis XVI. beheaded.*
Feb. Great French war begins.
1794. *June.* Howe's naval victory.
1795. Cape Colony occupied.
1797. *Feb.* Battle of Cape St. Vincent.
Naval mutinies.
Oct. Battle of Camperdown.
„ *Treaty of Campo Formio.*
1798. *May.* Buonaparte sails for Egypt.
Aug. Battle of the Nile.
1799. Second Coalition.
Nov. Buonaparte, First Consul.
1800. *Dec. Battle of Hohenlinden.*
1801. *Feb.* Britain isolated by treaty of Lunéville.
Pitt resigns.
Addington Ministry.
April. Battle of the Baltic.
British defeat French in Egypt.
1802. Peace of Amiens.
1803. *May.* War renewed.
1804. *Napoleon I., Emperor.*
Pitt resumes office.
1805. Third Coalition.
Oct. Battle of Trafalgar.
Dec. Battle of Austerlitz.
1806-7. Ministry of All the Talents.
1806. Death of Pitt.
Title of 'Holy Roman Empire' dropped, having lasted one thousand years.
Battle of Jena. Berlin Decree.
Battle of Maida.

1807. *Treaty of Tilsit.*
Battle of Copenhagen.
1807-9. Portland Ministry.
1808. War in the Peninsula. Convention of Cintra.
1809. *Jan.* Moore at Corunna.
July. Battle of Wagram.
„ Battle of Talavera.
„ Walcheren Expedition.
Perceval Ministry.
1810. Masséna and Wellington at Torres Vedras.
1811. Battle of Fuentes d'Oñoro.
1812. Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and Salamanca.
Napoleon's Moscow Expedition.
1812-15. War between Great Britain and the United States.
1812-27. Liverpool Ministry.
1813. *Battle of Leipzig.*
Battle of Vittoria.
1814. Napoleon abdicates and is sent to Elba.
Congress of Vienna meets.
1815. *Feb.* Return of Napoleon.
Feb.-June. The Hundred Days.
June 16. Ligny and Quatre Bras.
„ 18. Waterloo.

NOTE

The Walcheren Expedition

In 1809, when the Peninsular War was really beginning, what is called the Walcheren expedition was sent against Antwerp which was in the hands of the French. The affair turned out most disastrously; but it made no difference to the course of the struggle, and has therefore been left out of the main narrative. It has however an interest of its own, because it is often referred to as a typical example of blundering strategy —though if it had succeeded, instead of failing through mismanagement, it would very possibly have been cited as a stroke of strategical genius.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, not yet known as Wellington, was sent to the Peninsula in the spring of 1809. The obvious thing was for Britain, with her small army, to throw every ounce of her military energy into the war in the Peninsula. That was the view of George Canning. Castlereagh considered that even for that war, Wellesley would be better served by a 'diversion' directed against Antwerp than if the forces needed for it were sent to Portugal. For war was on the point of being declared between France and Austria. The capture of Antwerp at that

moment would be a more serious menace to Napoleon; it would hamper him much more in the conflict with Austria than anything that was likely to happen in Spain.

But Castlereagh's plan was foiled by mismanagement for which he was not really responsible. Antwerp was unprepared; a sudden and swift attack in March or April would probably have captured it. But the expedition was not ready. In April Napoleon was flinging himself on Austria; in July he had defeated her, decisively though not ruinously, at Wagram, the last of a series of victories broken by one serious defeat. At any time during the campaign the fall of Antwerp would at least have made matters very difficult for him. But Wagram had already been fought before the British expedition started.

Even then the fall of Antwerp might have heartened Austria to continue the struggle in which she had by no means been crushed. But that chance was lost by the mismanagement of the commanders, Pitt's elder brother (Lord Chatham) and Admiral Strachan. Before attacking Antwerp, they set about capturing Flushing. By the time Flushing was taken the fortifications of Antwerp had been so much strengthened that the attempt on it had to be given up. Two-thirds of the force were withdrawn, but the remaining 15,000 men were left to hold the island of Walcheren—and there they were attacked by disease, from which most of them perished miserably. Such was the woful end of the Walcheren expedition. If it had sailed in April, it might have wrecked Napoleon's Wagram campaign. Had it gone to Portugal instead, Wellington might not have been forced to retire after his victory at Talavera. As matters actually befell, it damaged the reputation of the British at heavy cost of men and money, and achieved nothing; while it led to an actual duel between Castlereagh and Canning, both of whom had to retire for a time from the ministry.

CHAPTER VII

THE EMPIRE DURING THE WAR: 1788-1815.

I. The Colonies and America: 1788-1815.

Australia and Cape Colony—Canada and the United States.

The Chapter.

The war-period of which we have just been following the story was also the period of that great domestic change in the conditions of the production of wealth which we call the Industrial Revolution—of the experiment which aimed at making Ireland one with Great Britain as Great Britain had been made one by the Union of England and Scotland—of the establishment of the British in India as not merely one Power among several but actually paramount (a term to be presently explained)—and of a fresh phase in the development of the American colonies that remained within the British Empire (not yet to be called a Commonwealth). It was also the starting-point of a new colonial expansion upon two continents. These are the subjects which will be dealt with in this chapter, though with the order of treatment reversed.

1. Australia.

Australia, as we saw, was annexed to the British Empire at the beginning of 1788—not from any belief that it would prove of great value, but to provide a new dumping-ground for convicted criminals whom it was inconvenient and expensive to lodge in great prisons in England. The need arose, because the old dumping-ground was closed by the War of American Independence. British convicts could not be sent, as before, to work out their punishment in servitude to American masters.

The first penal settlement, starting from Botany Bay on the east coast of the continent which had been annexed, was the seed from which was to grow up the future Commonwealth of Australia. The convicts were in charge of a military governor, Captain Phillip, with a troop of marines. The general principle was that convicts when they

had worked out their time, and soldiers when they had earned their discharge, were to be allowed to take up land and farm it. The first settlement was presently followed by another on Tasmania or Van Diemen's Land. The Australian natives were few, and at a very low stage of civilisation; their communities had no settled home, but moved from place to place; and they hardly affected the progress of the settlers. But the society of convicts and ex-convicts did not attract many voluntary settlers from England. There were still very few of them in Australia when the European wars were ended.

The other new field for future expansion was South Africa. There were various European trading settlements or stations on the rather deadly Gold Coast or Slave Coast north of the equator; but the Dutch Cape Colony in the farthest south was the only region where hitherto the climate had allowed Europeans to set up permanent homes. There the Dutch had established themselves about the middle of the seventeenth century, to provide a half-way port for their ships voyaging to and from the Indian Ocean and the Spice Islands. There they had given a welcome to many French Huguenots fleeing from the persecution of Louis XIV. Dutch and Huguenots were stern Calvinists, like the Scots and most of the English Puritans. They looked upon themselves as the Lord's chosen people and on the natives—the yellow-skinned Hottentots of the Cape and the Kaffir negroes farther away—as the children of Ham born to serve the sons of Japheth. They were almost cut off from touch with Europe, knew nothing of its intellectual progress, and were still at the end of the eighteenth century unchanged in character, manners, and ideas from the Dutchmen and Huguenots of the seventeenth century.

The Cape.

When Holland joined France in 1795 the British took possession of the colony by the Stadtholder's authority. At the peace of Amiens they evacuated it, but reoccupied it in 1806; and when the war was finally over and William was restored in Holland they retained it with his consent, paying him a sum of money as compensation.

THE War of Independence had left in British possession the territories that had once been French Canada on the north or left bank of the St. Lawrence from its mouth up to the Great Lakes; the Hudson Bay Territory farther north; and on the south bank, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; besides King Edward Island and Newfoundland. At the end of the war a great number of loyalist families migrated from the Southern States into New Brunswick and

2. Canada.

Upper Canada, to remain within the Empire. They became known as the United Empire Loyalists. Thus in Upper Canada the British were many and the French few; in Lower Canada the French were many and the British few. The political traditions and the religion of British and French were opposed; hence it was almost necessary for Pitt to pass the Canada Act of 1791; setting up the two separate governments of Upper Canada or Ontario, and Lower Canada or Quebec; the former on the regular British lines with British institutions, the latter on the lines, suited to the French population, which had been laid down by the Quebec Act of 1774.

The United States.

By this time the thirteen states which had once been British colonies had joined together as the United States, with George Washington as their first President. Though the war had left a feeling of great bitterness towards England, the French Republic, when the war broke out, could not induce the States to join in—partly because their trade required tolerably friendly relations with the Old Country. But during the second war, after 1806, their commerce suffered severely from the Berlin Decree and the British Orders in Council. Whithersoever an American ship sailed, one side or the other claimed that the place was a blockaded port. As the British fleets were everywhere, the Americans suffered more from them than from the French. Moreover the British warships claimed the right of searching American vessels for sailors who had deserted from the British navy, and sometimes ended by carrying off quite innocent American citizens. The irritation became so great that in 1812 the States declared war on Great Britain while she was in the thick of the struggle with Napoleon—it was the Salamanca year. Like the war of 'Jenkins' Ear' in 1739, this one might easily have been prevented by a little common-sense, a little give-and-take on both sides, if both had not lost their tempers.

The War of 1812-14.

As in 1775 the Americans tried invading Canada; but, also as at the earlier time, the French Canadians were loyal to the Flag, and the British Empire Loyalists were more than ready to take vengeance on the armies of the Republic which had driven them from their old homes. The invasion of Canada was a disastrous failure. But on the seas the ships of the British navy which were despatched to American waters were badly handled in a series of duels between single frigates, while the British Mercantile Marine also suffered more than the American.

In the course of 1813 the balance was redressed, and the ending of the

European war in 1814 enabled the British to send troops from the Peninsula to America—which did not return in time to take part in the Waterloo campaign. One expeditionary force under General Ross routed the American troops at Bladensburg and captured the city of Washington, the United States capital—where most unhappily a great deal of wanton destruction was wrought, public buildings were destroyed without good reason, and as a natural consequence the spirit of irreconcilable hostility was violently inflamed. (This was going on during the period of European peace, while Napoleon was in Elba.) An attack on Baltimore failed, and in January 1815 British troops met with a complete disaster in attempting to storm the entrenchments before New Orleans.

Like Wellington's fight with Soult at Toulouse, this battle took place after an Anglo-American peace had actually been signed (on Christmas Eve) but before the news had reached the commanders in the field. Again we note the resemblance to the war of 'Jenkins' Ear.' Both wars ought to have been avoided. Both were really episodes in a much bigger war in which Britain was engaged. Both had started over a question of the 'right of search'; and both were ended without any formal settlement of the question originally in dispute. This Peace, which was signed at Ghent in Belgium, did little more than make arrangements—which proved quite unsatisfactory—for the settlement of the northern boundary questions which had been left uncertain in the treaty of 1783. Since the treaty of Ghent, there have been no open hostilities between Britain and the great daughter-nation; but it did nothing to heal the bitterness which had been aroused by the war, and more than half a century passed before it could be said that genuine good feeling was established between the two great branches of the English-speaking peoples. One thing however had been made certain by it—that Canada would stand by the British Empire, and would never be either compelled or persuaded to enter the American Union.

Its effects.

II. India: 1786-1815.

Cornwallis—Shore—Wellesley and Mysore—Wellesley and the Marathas—Barlow—Minto—Moira.

We left the story of India at the point where Warren Hastings was returning to England, and Pitt in his India Act had devised the new system for the future government of the great dependency.

The first Governor-General chosen was Lord Cornwallis, a statesman and soldier who was universally respected and trusted, not for excep-
1. Cornwallis, 1786-93. tional brilliancy but for sound sense and high character; a man whose reputation was already made; one moreover who had made it a clear condition of his accepting the appointment that he should be free to act on his own judgment, as he on the spot might think best, and that he was not to be overruled by orders from home or by refractory colleagues, like his predecessor.

He had a free hand. Conquests and additions to British territories and British responsibilities were the last thing he desired. His aim was to give the Indian subjects of the British East India Company the best government that could be devised, a rule of even-handed justice under administrators secure of a sufficient reward for their services, and free from the temptation to use their power for their private personal advantage. With the native Powers, with Oudh, the Nizam, the Marathas, and Tippu Sultan of Mysore, he wished to preserve friendly relations and to avoid wars. But of those four Powers two were intensely aggressive, bent on extending their dominions at the expense of their neighbours; these were the Mohammedan Sultan of Mysore and the Hindu Marathas, who encircled the Nizam's dominion on three sides. The Nizam had no dreams of conquest, but generally found it difficult to make up his mind whether he most feared Mysore, the Marathas, or the British. The Wazir of Oudh was the only one of the four who had no doubt at all that what he wanted was British protection.

Cornwallis organised the government of Bengal on the principle that natives could not be entrusted with high office and responsible posts.
Cornwallis in Bengal. Misgovernment had so long been the rule that there was no class among the Indians trained in the idea of public duty; therefore the responsible business of government, the authority of governors, must be reserved for the ruling race. And on that principle the government of British India was conducted for a century and a quarter. Cornwallis gave Bengal a government under which justice was more assured, life and property were more secure, than at any time in its previous history. His name is perhaps most generally remembered by the system of land tenure that he established in Bengal, known as the Permanent Settlement; a note on which will be found at the end of the chapter.

He was disappointed however in his wish to preserve peace. The Nizam was friendly only so long as he believed that he could count on the British to protect him from the aggression of his dangerous neigh-

bour in Mysore. Cornwallis could not refuse him the protection he needed, and after vain negotiations with the Mysore Sultan (who, in his own belief, had been able to dictate terms to the British in 1783) he was obliged, in alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas, to make war on Tippu. His allies took no active part, and three campaigns were required before Tippu was forced to submit to the terms of Cornwallis and to surrender a considerable part of his territory which was divided between the British, the Marathas, and the Nizam. It was an understood thing in India that no prince would believe that he had really been defeated unless the victor compelled him to surrender territory.

The Mysore war.

The rule of Cornwallis was brought to an end by the outbreak of the European war in 1793. He was needed at home. India was left in charge of Sir John Shore—one of the rare exceptions to the rule that the Governor-General should be a man experienced in public affairs elsewhere than in India. Shore had been an excellent subordinate to a chief like Cornwallis; but he lacked the swiftness of judgment and action, the readiness to take risks, required in his great post. His hesitating caution woke again in the native rulers doubts of the strength of the British. Frenchmen were soon intriguing at the native courts; one after another the princes began to form their armies, or parts of them, on the European model under French commanders. Year after year news of French but not of British successes in the European war reached India; hopes were rising that French help would be forthcoming for the overthrow of the British power which each native prince regarded as the most formidable obstacle in the way of his own aggressive ambitions. The hopes received direct encouragement from France, though there was no real chance of their being fulfilled as long as the British held the mastery of the seas.

2. Sir John Shore.

The one piece of vigorous action taken in Shore's time was that of the Madras Government, which captured and annexed Ceylon from the Dutch when they joined the French alliance. Later however the island was separated from the empire in India, and was given an entirely distinct administration as a British Crown Colony.

Thus when Shore was recalled and his place was taken, early in May 1798, by Richard Wellesley (Lord Mornington), better known by his later title, the 'Marquess Wellesley'—whose younger brother after-

wards became duke of Wellington—a very critical situation had arisen. Tippu believed that his moment had come. The Nizam was inclined to think that safety lay in winning the goodwill not of the British but of Tippu. In Europe General Buonaparte was on the point of sailing from Toulon for Egypt, from which to strike at India.

3. Marquess Wellesley.

Wellesley had all the self-confidence, all the audacity and swiftness which Shore had lacked. He had hardly landed when he found a proclamation by the French governor of the Mauritius urging French citizens in India to take service with Tippu —to whom he at once addressed an urgent warning. He invited the Nizam to dismiss his French officers and to place his troops under British commanders. The alarmed Nizam promptly complied. The Marathas were too deeply engaged in rivalries among their own chiefs to be dangerous at the moment ; but the insolence of Tippu's reply to his warning was proof enough of the Sultan's intentions—the news of Nelson's victory in Aboukir Bay did not serve to shatter the dream of French intervention. In March 1799 two British columns were invading Mysore. In April Tippu was shut up in his capital, Seringapatam. In May Seringapatam was stormed and taken, and Tippu himself fell fighting, sword in hand. The Mysore sultanate had been created by his father, the military adventurer Haidar Ali. Wellesley restored the old Hindu dynasty which Haidar had set aside, but only in the old kingdom which had been theirs before. The rest of Tippu's kingdom was divided between the British and the Nizam who was now more than ever the dependent of the British. If the Europeans chose to set about conquest there was no Power left between the mountains and the ocean that could hope to make head against them unless it were that of the united Marathas—and the Marathas were not united.

Tippu Sultan.

Conquest however was not what Wellesley aimed at. He was the one Governor-General before Dalhousie who went to India with a formed conviction that it would be for the good of India and of the British that as much as possible of the peninsula should be brought under direct British control. He saw also that there never would be peace in India unless there were in it some ' paramount Power,' a Power which could enforce a general authority over the whole ; a Power whose authority was acknowledged more completely than that of the Moguls had ever been. Obviously then, the British must be that paramount Power. This was the more necessary, because, in spite of the victory of the Nile, danger still lurked in the possibility of native

Wellesley's aims.

alliances with the French. His plan to prevent wars of aggression between the native principalities was, that they should be persuaded to recognise the British suzerainty, to make no alliances, to be the allies of no one except the British; that the military forces for the defence of each state should be in the main under direct British control; that the princes should enter upon what were called 'subsidiary alliances' with the British—that is, that there should be in each state a force under British officers maintained at the expense of the state. But instead of paying those expenses in cash, they should cede territory to the British which would provide the revenue for the maintenance of those forces, while the natives in them would enjoy the blessings of British administration, order, and justice. All was to be done by way of treaty, law, and agreement, not by conquest.

4. Wellesley and the Marathas.

The plan was pursued successfully with the Nizam, and with the Oudh Wazir who ceded Rohilkhand and the 'Doab' between the Ganges and Jumna—to serve as a barrier against the Marathas. The Nawab of Arcot placed the administration of the Carnatic in the hands of the British. But the Marathas were not so easily persuaded. None of the five Maratha princes was willing to surrender his independence by accepting Wellesley's proposals for a subsidiary alliance and undertaking to make no other alliances on his own account. But the five were at odds among themselves. Their nominal head, Baji Rao, the Peshwa of Poona, found himself in danger from the rivalry of Holkar, Sindhia (Daulat Rao, for Madhoji had died some years before), and Bhonsla, and at the end of 1802, to save himself from them, accepted the desired alliance by the treaty of Bassein.

Still the other chiefs were not to be persuaded. If they submitted their independence would be at an end. They refused to withdraw the troops which were threatening the Peshwa who was now the ally of the British; the result of their refusal was the Maratha war of 1803. It was fought in two areas or regions—one in the Deccan on the north and north-west of the Nizam's dominions, the other in Sindhia's Gwalior[1] territory, in Upper Hindustan, from which he dominated the helpless Mogul at Delhi. A column under General Lake, advancing from the Doab, captured Delhi and shattered Sindhia's northern army at Laswari in October. Some weeks earlier, Arthur Wellesley, the Governor-General's younger brother, had routed the Deccan army, of

[1] Map, India 1802-1914.

ten times his own numbers, at Assaye, and in November he defeated them finally at Argaon. This was decisive. Sindhia and Bhonsla submitted, accepting Wellesley's terms of alliance; and Delhi, with the Mogul, was taken into the British Indian territory known as the North-West Provinces.

The contest with the Marathas was not yet over; for Holkar of Indore, who had taken no part in the 1803 campaign, challenged the British on his own account in 1804. This time the campaign was at first mismanaged; a force sent against Holkar under Colonel Monson was almost wiped out. But when Holkar himself advanced he was decisively defeated by Ochterlony and Frazer and had to flee into the Punjab.

5. Barlow.

This was the end of the Maratha war; but the settlement after it was not left in Wellesley's hands. His empire-building was not to the liking of the home authorities; it was costly; it was a departure from the principles on which Cornwallis had acted; and the Governor-General had gone beyond his powers in disregarding the instructions of the East India Company. Wellesley was recalled. Cornwallis returned to take his place, and revert to the policy of 'non-intervention' with the native states. But Cornwallis himself was worn out and died when he had been only a few weeks in India, and for a while his office was for the second time discharged by an experienced Indian official—Sir George Barlow—fit for high office but not for the highest. Barlow in effect surrendered the control over the Marathas which had been won under the treaties, with the result that another and finally decisive Maratha war had to be fought a few years later.

6. Minto.

Barlow was only appointed to carry on till the successor to Cornwallis should be chosen, and in 1807 the Governor-Generalship was given to Lord Minto, who ruled during the years of the Peninsular War. In his time movements were going on outside India itself which later were to have a marked influence on Indian history. Within India a powerful state was being built up in the north-west, the Sikh kingdom of Lahore or the Punjab, under a very able prince, Ranjit Singh, which became a barrier against the Afghan invasions that had caused so much disturbance in the middle of the eighteenth century. But beyond the Punjab was Afghanistan, beyond that was Persia, and beyond Persia was Russia. In the early years of the nineteenth century, the British began to be aware that though there was

now little to be feared from France in India, Russia might become a serious menace if she should succeed in gaining control of Persia, and, through Persia, of Afghanistan. Always from Lord Minto's time, the advance of Russian influence and Russian dominion in Western and Central Asia was a cause of anxiety to British statesmen both in India and at Westminster. For this reason Minto tried to establish British influence in Persia, but the matter was taken out of his hands by the home Government, which was much less awake than the Indian Government to the importance of the Persian question.

Minto could not reverse the non-intervention policy which had followed on the recall of Wellesley. He was in consequence unable to prevent the Maratha chiefs from extending their power over the princes of Rajputana which lay beyond their territories. More dangerous was the protection they gave to the bands of robbers and adventurers called Pathans and Pindaris. These troops of mounted brigands were allowed to swarm over Central India, robbing, pillaging, and then retiring from their excursions back to security in the territories of Holkar or Sindhia or the Peshwa. Bhonsla being out of favour with the others found his own dominions threatened by these merciless raiders. Yet in the face of positive orders from home, the Governor-General could do no more than remonstrate with the Maratha princes, who professed that they were doing everything they could to suppress the iniquity, which in fact they were encouraging.

The Pindaris.

To Minto however belongs the credit of capturing the French islands of the Mauritius which lay on the flank of the sailing route between India and the Cape. They had been used as a naval base by the French in the days of Dupleix and of Warren Hastings, and since then for destructive raiding of the East Indian merchantmen. Also he took from the Dutch the valuable island of Java, though it was restored to them at the end of the war.

Minto was succeeded in 1813 by Lord Moira, who was presently to complete the work of Wellesley by suppressing the Pindaris and breaking up the Maratha power. That part of the story however will come later. Moira, before dealing with the Pindari problem, had another trouble to face. The great plains of the Ganges basin ran up north to the foothills of the Himalaya mountains; but in the mountains bordering the British dominions and Oudh lay Nepal, the state of the Ghurka highlanders; a vigorous people who had recently taken to raiding the northern plains of Oudh, Behar, and

7. Moira.

Bengal. Their aggressions had become so troublesome, and their rulers were so defiant, that it was necessary to curb them by force of arms. But the Ghurkas were such daring and skilful fighters, and understood the business of hill warfare so much better than the English commanders and the sepoys from the plains, that the first British expeditions in 1814 were defeated by much smaller Ghurka forces. Next year however they were mastered by General Ochterlony. If the failures of 1814 had been repeated, the Marathas would probably have attacked the British at once; but Ochterlony's successes restored British prestige. Western Nepal was ceded to the British; but the fighting had the further excellent effect of establishing not ill-will but a warm good-will between the combatants which has never since that time been shaken.

The Ghurka war.

III. Ireland: 1782-1815.

The Irish Problem—The Rebellion of 'Ninety-eight—The Union.

IRELAND had been granted legislative independence in 1782; that is, her Parliament—'Grattan's Parliament'—could with some limitations introduce and pass measures which concerned Ireland independently of the Privy Council of Great Britain, while the Parliament of Great Britain had formally surrendered its power of making laws for Ireland over the head of the Irish Parliament. Most of the restrictions upon Irish trade had also been withdrawn. But the Irish Parliament, rejecting Grattan's high ideals, was itself in no haste to remove other grievances of the Irish population. For only persons of property could sit in the Irish Parliament; Catholics and Protestant Dissenters were excluded from it, and from holding any Government posts, though the Dissenters had enjoyed the franchise—the right of voting at parliamentary elections—since 1780. As in England there were a few persons who among them held in their own hands so many 'pocket boroughs' that they could secure the return of more than half the members of the Irish Commons. Thus this small group had complete control over both the legislature and the administration, and they were not at all inclined to reforms which would deprive them of any of their power. And behind them they had the power of the British Government.

1. Grattan's Parliament.

Ireland, then, actually had an Irish Government, but one which represented only a small section of the Irish people, a section which had always tyrannised over the rest and was very firmly convinced

that if the rest ever got the power into their own hands they would use it vindictively. The country submitted, but was still in opposition to the Government. The mass of this opposition was Roman Catholic; but a comparatively small though very vigorous portion of it was made up of Protestant Dissenters, mainly the descendants of the English and Scottish Puritans and Covenanters who had fought for their religious and political liberties, won them, and lost them again, a century and a half ago. On the other hand, between these Dissenters and Roman Catholics there was the bitter feud which went back beyond the days of William of Orange, of Cromwell, and to the Elizabethan colonisation. This antagonism was fiercer than the common antagonism of both to what was called the 'Protestant ascendency'—for the name Protestant was applied in Ireland to the Established Church, not to the Presbyterians and other enemies of 'Popery.'

Irish divisions.

Now on the top of this came the French Revolution, spreading its doctrines of equality and republicanism, and illustrating them by peasant risings, burning of chateaux, attacks on the Church, and a general sweeping away of rights and privileges, to be followed presently by the September massacres, the beheading of a king, and the Reign of Terror. Ireland was good soil for revolutionary doctrines to seed and grow in. The doctrines were taught by a young lawyer, Wolfe Tone. The grievances of Ireland, it seemed, would never be remedied without a revolution, such as that going on in France during the first two years after the meeting of the States-General. The opposition to the existing state of things must be organised in a fashion which would win the sympathies of moderate men, reformers who were taking alarm at the excesses of the French. It must be united; Protestants and Catholics must act together. Wolfe Tone formed the Protestant Society of United Irishmen which Catholics were invited to join—to press for the redress of grievances. The society grew and spread, and as it grew its doctrines became more openly revolutionary, pointing more definitely to severance from Great Britain and alliance with the French Republic as the only way by which Ireland could attain liberty.

The French revolution.

Wolfe Tone.

The Society was still professedly loyal when Great Britain and France went to war in 1793. Pitt, thoroughly disliking the pocket-borough system both in England and Ireland, but compelled to drop all ideas of parliamentary reform in England by the general fear of 'Jacobinism,'

nevertheless brought pressure to bear on the 'ascendency' Government in Ireland to remove some of the more flagrant Catholic grievances by a Relief Act which admitted Catholics to the franchise while still excluding them from parliament and from office. One result was to make more acute again the hostility between Catholics and Protestants. Also the Catholic gentry detested the French Republic as much as any one, because of its attacks on the Church in France; but, being shut out of politics, they could not do much to influence and direct popular feeling. So while the United Irishmen, of both religions, were working up the revolutionary spirit, Catholic 'Defenders' and Protestant 'Orangemen' were at the same time carrying on the religious feud.

2. Disaffection.

By 1796, Wolfe Tone was openly calling Ireland to armed defiance of Great Britain, and escaped to France to procure French assistance. An expedition was actually despatched from France, but was driven off the Irish coast by storms; and while volunteers assembled to resist invasion there was no sort of popular rising such as Wolfe Tone had expected. Nevertheless the Government took alarm and adopted severe repressive measures, directed chiefly against the Catholic peasantry. The religious hostility blazed out more fiercely than ever; shocking outrages were committed on both sides, by those who were acting in the name of the law as well as by those who were deliberately defying the law.

In 1798 the Irish Government—not the British—arrested some of the leaders of the United Irishmen (who were undoubtedly planning insurrection), and redoubled the reckless brutality of their methods of repression. By so doing they made successful revolt doubly impossible—for it was in fact impossible already—but they made fierce and unsuccessful revolt inevitable. Insurrections in three of the four provinces were stamped out before they could make head; but in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford there was a savage struggle before the rising there was crushed by the Government forces at Vinegar Hill (June). A belated French expedition succeeded in landing on the west coast—the battle of the Nile had not yet been fought when it put to sea—and routed the local militia, but found itself without support and was soon compelled to surrender.

'Ninety-eight.

For the last ten years the real ruler of Ireland had been the earl of Clare, the leader of the 'ascendency.' Though the Irish Parliament or legislature was independent of control by Great Britain, the administration was still—as it had been in England down to the time of William III.

—in the hands of ministers and officials who were appointed or removed at the will of the Crown, or rather of the Crown's representative in Ireland, the Lord-Lieutenant—almost invariably an Englishman. A strong Lord-Lieutenant at Dublin Castle could therefore exercise a great deal of control, after as well as before the establishment of the independent legislature. The Lord-Lieutenant was in effect appointed by the ministry in England, so that it could still—if it chose—control the actual government of Ireland. But in Pitt's view, the Lord-Lieutenant was in practice to act on the advice of the Irish ministers as the Crown in England was expected to act on the advice of the English ministers. One after another, the Lords-Lieutenant had not interfered with the Irish ministry of which Lord Clare was the head. The Ascendency.

But the Irish troubles, culminating in the rebellion of 1798 and its savage suppression, had proved that the government of Ireland could not safely be left to the uncontrolled management of the Ascendency party. In June of that year—just before Vinegar Hill—Cornwallis, the former Governor-General of India, was appointed to the Irish Lord-Lieutenancy; and Cornwallis found himself at once in agreement with Pitt's own view that a drastic change was necessary.

3. A new policy.

Clare himself was aware that the policy of repression had been carried to a point at which it defeated its own ends. It could indeed stamp out open resistance, but only at the price of embittering popular hostility to the Government, and to the 'law and order' which could only be enforced by brutal tyranny and oppression. A month after the decisive fight, an 'Act of Amnesty' was passed—an Act, that is, which granted a general pardon to persons who had been concerned in the rebellion, though with a small number of exceptions.

But this was not enough. The Ascendency had been tried, had been given a free hand, and had been found wanting. A small body of privileged persons, who had obtained their wealth and power through laws imposed upon Ireland, which in the eyes of the unprivileged had been vindictive acts of robbery and tyranny forced upon a weak and helpless people by no other right than that of Might, held rule over a population of five times their own numbers. Being so small a minority, they could maintain their supremacy only by force and terrorism. That could not be allowed to continue. But if the supremacy were taken from them, if the other five-sixths were treated as having equal rights with them, those who had been the oppressed would become the oppressors.

Men like Grattan might have a firm faith that the nobler spirit of man would prevail, and that no vengeance would be taken for the past, but there were few who shared that faith. To leave the people who had always been loyal to face such a risk would be a shameful desertion. That, then, was an impossible alternative.

A scheme of Union.

But there was a third possible way, which had proved successful with Scotland. If Ireland were joined with Great Britain as England had been joined with Scotland, with a single legislature for all three, in which all three had their representatives, and if that 'incorporating Union' were accompanied by the Catholic emancipation which would place the Irish Catholic majority on an equal footing with the Protestant minority, then the problem ought to be solved; for the Irish Catholics would be a minority in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and would be unable to use their new political rights so as to oppress their former oppressors. This was the solution to which Cornwallis and Pitt turned. But it could not be done without consent of the Irish Parliament, and would be of little use without the assent of the bulk of the Irish people.

The Union carried, 1809.

In Ireland, as in Scotland a hundred years before, there was certain to be opposition to any incorporating union from those to whom the loss of 'independence' seemed too high a price to pay for an apparent equality which might prove not to be equality at all; and also from those who hated the British connection in every shape or form. But apart from these, the five-sixths of Ireland which was without political power would assent for the sake of the enfranchisement which it could not otherwise obtain. The ruling one-sixth would not consent unless it received material compensations for the loss of ascendency; and it would fight its hardest against Catholic emancipation, backed up by the popular 'no popery' sentiment in England, which had shown itself twenty years before in the Gordon riots. Pitt believed that the Irish Parliament could be induced to pass a Union Bill if emancipation were not included in it, while the Catholic public would be satisfied by pledges that emancipation should follow when the parliaments were united. The Ascendency leaders were won over by bribery—not so much in the form of hard cash as of peerages, promotions in the peerage, and compensation for the abolition of the pocket boroughs which had come to be regarded as legitimate property with a cash value of some £15,000 apiece. So the Bills[1] for an incor-

[1] For details, see note at end of chapter.

porating union were passed in the British and Irish Parliaments in 1800. In 1801 there was no longer an Irish Parliament, and the Parliament of Great Britain had become the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Then Pitt proposed to carry out the promise of Catholic emancipation. Pitt himself, Cornwallis, Castlereagh who in Ireland had done more than any one else to convert opposition into neutrality or half-hearted support, all believed that emancipation was in itself desirable and, for the conciliation of Ireland, absolutely necessary. They had all committed themselves to the principle though the British ministry as a body had not pledged itself. But they had reckoned without the king, who had a fixed belief that if he granted Catholic emancipation he would be breaking his coronation oath. Pitt could probably have carried his Bill through Parliament; but George made it clear that the Royal Assent would not be given, even though his refusal should cost him his crown. That alternative Pitt was not prepared to face. He resigned, and with him went Cornwallis and Grenville, Castlereagh, Canning, and others. Only the feeble Addington ministry could be scraped together to carry on the government—and the French war. But—still more fatal for Ireland—Catholic emancipation was postponed for nearly thirty years. The great act of conciliation and justice had not been done. Apart from an insurrection which came to nothing, Ireland did indeed remain quiet through the second war—but an Ireland reconciled neither to the Protestant Ascendency nor to the Union, nor, finally, to the British connection.

Emancipation wrecked.

IV. The Industrial Revolution: (ii) 1789-1815.

Small Holdings and Large Farms—Labour and Capital in Manufacture—Demoralising Measures—War Results.

We have seen how, before the war with France started, the beginnings of a great change in the manner of life of the mass of the people in Great Britain were already taking place. Machinery driven by water-power and managed by a few workers was doing much more cheaply the spinning and weaving which had hitherto been the by-employment of the families who lived mainly by working on the soil. The yeoman, deprived of this source of additional income which had just made the difference between decent comfort and grinding poverty, found it increasingly difficult to keep

1. Machinery and the yeoman.

his head above water, and to find the money without which he could not turn his land to the best account. Even with money, the open field system, with each holding broken up into scattered acre-strips, would have made scientific farming impossible—the farming which would make every acre produce the most that it was capable of producing.

The big farm.

On the other hand a big farm, with all the land in it lying together, and managed by some one who could spend money on improving and working it while he waited for profits in the future, could be worked scientifically and made to produce very much more. This made the landowners eager to 'enclose' the holdings on their estates—to buy out the yeomen, combine their holdings, and turn them into big farms which tenants with money to spend on them could work at a big profit out of which it would be well worth their while to pay bigger rents than the yeomen could possibly afford. The yeoman could not be turned out as long as he paid the fixed rent, which the landowner had no power to raise. But when the yeoman, deprived of his by-industry, found that the produce of the soil left him no margin out of which to pay the rent, he was in danger of being turned out. He preferred to be bought out for a small sum, and to earn his living as a wage-labourer for the big farmer who took up his land.

The war.

The small holdings and the yeomen were already fast disappearing into the big farms and into the ranks of wage-labourers. The war made the change all the more rapid. Before the war the numbers of the wage-earners had increased greatly; before the eighteenth century was ended they had been multiplied. The cultivation of the soil had passed into the hands of capitalists—men who could spend money on it and on machinery and labour for working it on a big scale, and so could make it produce much more for less labour and less expense in proportion to the ground cultivated.

2. Manufacture.

THE same thing was happening to manufacture. The new machinery turned out very much more in proportion to the labour spent on it than the old tools. It could do things on a very much bigger scale, and therefore much more cheaply; so what it produced was cheaper, and within the reach of a much larger number of purchasers. But the machinery could only be set up by people who had the money and could pay the labourers while they themselves waited for the goods to be sold and paid for. Before, the labourer owned his

own tools; now, the manufacturer was the owner of the machinery which the labourer could not set up for himself, as well as of the raw material which was to be manufactured. He was a capitalist who had to hire labour; the labourer had to find a capitalist who wanted his services—otherwise he would have no work to do, and would starve. There were more labourers than the capitalists required; therefore to get work and earn some sort of a living the labourer had to take what the capitalist chose to give him; for he could not wait for weeks without the wages which kept him from starving, while the manufacturer—if it came to a trial of strength—could wait for weeks without starving though his machinery was lying idle. The change was rapid when the new machinery was driven by water-power; but as steam-driven machinery increased, it went on very much faster. It was all disastrous for the labourer as long as the new machinery meant that a smaller number of labourers was required to turn out all the goods that were wanted; and this was the case all through the war and for long afterwards. In course of time, cheapened production meant such an increase in the demand for the goods that more labour was required than ever. In the long run, labour-saving machinery increases employment. But only in the long run; and when it came in it reduced employment, so that there were great numbers of the hand-workers who were constantly living on the edge of destitution while the employers were making large profits.

Capital and labour.

On the other hand, iron-works and coal-mines actually gave much more employment than before, as the use of the steam-engine increased, because the steam-driven machinery had to be made of iron, iron-works needed coal-furnaces, and all steam-engines needed coal. Also cotton goods became so much cheaper that the demand for them soon increased the employment in their manufacture. Thus in the north country, the men who could no longer find employment on the land did to a great extent find it instead in the factories and mines. But in the south the workers on the soil had not even this relief. Cotton, coal, and iron were all north-country industries; steam factories of all kinds could be set up much more easily in the neighbourhood of the coal and iron fields. There were no factories in the south for the labourers to turn to—and it is easier to-day for a family to migrate from England to Canada or Australia in search of employment than it was to migrate from Wiltshire to Lancashire at the beginning of the nineteenth century. And even in the north there were two conditions which kept the supply of labour greatly in excess

North and south.

of the demand for it, so that the labourer had to accept whatever wages the employer chose to offer. First, the population was increasing so fast that though as many or more workers were employed, the number who wanted employment grew greater and greater. Secondly, a great deal of the work could be done by women or boys and girls, and the employers thought it was cheaper to pay them a very little than to employ men who had to be paid enough to live on.

3. Wages and rates.

In the south, matters were made worse in one way by what was intended to be a very benevolent and humane measure. Here were crowds of agricultural labourers getting very low wages. The magistrates, who then had many of the powers which have now been given to county, district, or parish councils, saw that those wages were not enough for them to live on decently. So the Speenhamland magistrates set the example—which was generally followed—of deciding that the difference between what they regarded as a living wage and the wages that were being paid should be made up to the labourer out of rates. But a living wage meant a wage on which the labourer's children as well as the labourer himself could live; so to make it up there was to be an allowance made for each child. This seemed fair and generous to the labourer; whether he got good or bad wages from his employer, he and his children would be kept from destitution. But the labourer found that it made no difference to him whether his wages were good or not—if he got two shillings more from his employer, he got two shillings less from the rates. It was not worth while to work harder so as to earn a higher wage; whether he worked hard or not, what he got in wages or from the rates, taken together, would be the same.

Demoralisation.

In such a position all but a very few men will do as little work as they can and will not trouble to do it well. The employer had no inducement to give better wages, because when he did the work was no better done. In the old days the class who had been smallholders—yeomen or cottagers—had always felt, first, the satisfaction of being independent; they were in no man's service unless they chose to be. Secondly, they had felt that the difference between hard work and idleness was the difference between decent comfort and want. Now as agricultural labourers they found that whether they worked hard or idled they were equally secure against sheer want and out of reach of decent comfort—provided that they were doing some sort of work in the service of some one, in return

either for wages or for the dole from the rates. It was some one else's business, not their own, to see that they and their families did not starve. And for anything more, they were dependent on the benevolence of the squire and the parson.

STILL matters did not reach their worst stage during the war. It was necessary for the country to produce food enough for the whole population, because of the difficulty of getting it from abroad, so a great deal of very poor land which otherwise would have been left alone was brought under the plough, thus giving more employment. Bread of course became very dear, because grain was sold only at a price which made the poor land pay and gave a very handsome profit on the good land. This was the only way in which the land could be made to produce enough to feed the whole population—and it provided work for the agricultural labourer, while big farmers made big money and landlords drew big rents.

4. Extended cultivation.

Then came the peace when Napoleon was sent to Elba. Grain could be bought abroad at a lower price than the farmers had been getting in England. At the lower price for grain, the price of bread would go down, and the cost of living. But the farmers could no longer make the cultivation of the poorer land pay, or make the same profit from the better land, or pay the same rents; the heavy land-tax which the landlords had been paying would be an unbearable burden; and if another war came, the country would no longer be producing corn enough to feed the population. Therefore it seemed the lesser of two evils that the price of bread should be high rather than that land should go out of cultivation. So, to protect the 'agricultural interest'—every one, that is, who was concerned in producing corn, from the landlord down to the labourer—a Corn Law was passed in 1815 which entirely forbade the importation of corn if the price of it in England was less than 80s. a quarter, the price which was reckoned sufficient to make it worth while to keep the poor land under cultivation from year to year.

The Corn Law of 1815.

Meanwhile however there was the big fact that during the war Great Britain was the one country which had not only kept its ocean commerce open but had turned itself into a great manufacturing country. It had invented the new machinery; it had in its own soil the coal and iron wanted for the machinery; its merchant ships brought to it from oversea the raw materials which, throughout the war, foreign countries could hardly obtain from oversea,

The world's workshop.

and then only by buying from England. Armies had been trampling and fighting all over Europe, and no one there had the chance of setting up factories. In Great Britain a much smaller part of the population had been called away from industry, to serve in the army, than in any other country. England had been the world's great market when the war began; when it ended Great Britain was the world's one workshop, the place where most of the goods the world wanted could be and were being manufactured at much less cost and in much greater quantities than anywhere else. And nearly every one took for granted that the Peace would at once provide a vast market for British goods. They forgot that there can be no market unless there are purchasers who have something to give in exchange; and Europe was too much impoverished by the wars to be a good market for years to come.

SUMMARIES

Acts of Parliament: 1789-1815.

Canada Act, 1791, divided Canada into two separate colonies—Upper (Ontario) and Lower (Quebec), the former mainly British and the latter mainly French in their institutions; while the government in each was in the hands of a Governor with a nominated Council, and with an elected legislative Assembly which had very little power.

Combination Act, 1799, forbade associations either of masters or labourers. The real reason for it was the fear of revolutionary societies being formed amongst the labourers under the pretence that their aims were not political but economic.

Corn Law, 1815, forbade importation of foreign corn if the price of British-grown corn were less than 80s. per quarter; to prevent poor land from going out of cultivation.

Union with Ireland Act, 1800, abolished the separate Irish Parliament; gave to Ireland one hundred seats in the House of Commons in the Parliament of the United Kingdom (Scotland having forty-five), and permanent seats in the House of Lords to twenty-eight peers and four bishops. Other Irish peers were for parliamentary purposes to be commoners. Ireland was brought into the revenue system of Great Britain on the same footing as England and Scotland. The Irish pocket boroughs were abolished, but there was no alteration in the franchise, and Catholic emancipation was refused.

Chronology: 1786-1815 (b).[1]

1786-93. India: Cornwallis, Governor-General.
1788. First settlement (convict) in Australia (New South Wales).
1789-92. India: Mysore campaigns of Cornwallis.
1791. Canada Act.
Wolfe Tone: Society of United Irishmen.
1793. [Great French War begins.]
1793-98. India: Sir John Shore, Governor-General.
1795. Speenhamland justices supplement wages out of the rates.
1798. [Buonaparte's Egyptian expedition.]
Irish insurrection: Vinegar Hill.
1798-1804. India: Mornington (afterwards Marquess Wellesley), Governor-General.
1799. India: Conquest of Mysore.
Combination Laws.
1800. Ireland: Act of Union.
1803. India: Wellesley's Maratha War; Assaye.
1805. India: Cornwallis, Governor-General.
1805-6. India: Barlow acting Governor-General.
1806. Permanent occupation of Cape Colony.
1807-13. India: Minto, Governor-General.
1810. Capture of Mauritius.
1812. Tasmania separated from New South Wales.
1812-15. War with United States.
1813-22. India: Moira (Marquess of Hastings), Governor-General.
1814. *Dec.* Treaty of Ghent.
1815. India: Ghurka War.
Corn Law.

NOTE

Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement

Most of the revenue of Bengal—and of India generally—was derived from the tax on land. The land had been valued in the time of the great Mogul Akbar, when Queen Elizabeth was reigning in England. The Moguls had set revenue officers over each district into which the provinces of the empire were divided; who in Bengal and some other

[1] See p. 163.

parts were called Zemindars. It was their business to collect the revenue, handing over a fixed amount to the Government. The office of zemindar became hereditary. When the British came into Bengal, it appeared to them that the zemindar was the landlord of his zemindari or district, the owner of the soil, of which the cultivators were his tenants: in their eyes he was not the tax-collector but the tax-payer—though what rights the tenants really had, as against the zemindar, was not clear, nor was it clear what the amount of the tax ought in justice to be. Warren Hastings started an inquiry into the whole subject, procured a fresh provisional assessment of the value of the land at the time, and made a temporary settlement of the amount which the zemindars were to pay. Cornwallis completed the assessment, and made it the permanent foundation of a permanent settlement, instead of only for a term of twenty years as Shore advised. That is, the amount which it would be fair for the zemindar to pay in 1790 if the land had been correctly valued was to remain unchanged for all time. He would thus feel encouraged to improve his land, because all the benefit of the improvement would go into his own pocket and his position as the owner of the land was secured.

Thus the permanent settlement had beneficial results when the zemindar was a person who chose to make improvements. But it was soon found that Shore's plan would have been fairer to every one. The value of the zemindar's land would be increased under steady government, by improved means of communication, and in other ways not due to anything he did himself; the Government ought to have the right of sharing in that increase. A fresh assessment, at sufficient intervals, would allow him an ample return for any improvements he made; while he would not be tempted, by excessive profits, to rest contented and cease from further effort. But besides this the settlement was unfair to the 'ryot,' the peasant cultivator. For it was found that the peasant or the group of peasants in the village—not the zemindar—had really been the owners of the soil, at any rate in most cases; whereas the settlement had treated them as merely the zemindar's tenants. It had been a mistake to pledge the Government to a permanent settlement at all; but doubly so to give the pledge before the Government knew all the facts. The error was not repeated. With every further acquisition of territory, the settlements were made and renewed or revised only for a time, while the fullest inquiries into the rights of every one concerned were carried on—those rights varying very much in different parts of the country; and final settlements were not arrived at until it appeared that all the possible evidence had been exhaustively examined.

CHAPTER VIII

RECONSTRUCTION: 1814-1832.

I. The European Powers: 1814-1832.

The Congress of Vienna—Britain and the Holy Alliance—Greek and South American Independence.

FRANCE—first the Republic and then the Empire—had been turning Europe upside down for more than twenty years when Napoleon was sent to Elba in 1814. When the great disturber of the peace was removed, the first thing the Governments desired was to settle Europe as nearly as possible on the old lines —as it had been before the war. Territories had in those twenty years been turned over from one ruler to another; there was not one of the greater continental States—except Spain—which had in 1814 the same boundaries as in 1792. The settling of Europe was in the hands of the five great Powers, after the position of France had been settled and her monarchy restored by the Peace of Paris on Napoleon's abdication. The Congress of Vienna met in the autumn. Its deliberations were disturbed, but its conclusions were not much affected, by Napoleon's reappearance and the 'Hundred Days' which ended with Waterloo.

1. The Vienna Congress.

But the old Europe could not be restored. France could never again be the France of the old monarchy. Outside France, the doctrines of popular rights which had prepared the way for the Revolution had taken root in other countries; the Republic had planted self-governing institutions in the dependent republics she had created; Napoleon had preserved them when he turned those republics into kingdoms for his family, though he and they might rule as autocrats. And Napoleon's domination had aroused a new spirit, the spirit of Nationalism, which did not fit in with the old doctrine according to which a nation meant the people, however diverse, who inhabited all the territories over which one prince was ruler. The old doctrine took no account for instance of the fact that in one part of the Austrian empire the people were Germans, in

Changed conditions.

Nationalism.

another Italians, in another Magyars (Hungary), in another Czechs (Bohemia), and in another South Slavs; peoples of different races, different ideas, different languages, and different traditions, to most of whom their rulers were foreigners; or of the other fact that although Germany and Italy were divided into a number of States or parts of States, the peoples in each country were beginning to feel that they were of a common nationality, all Germans or all Italians.

Now, Great Britain had managed to combine the sense of separate nationality in English and Scots with a sense of nationality common to both. Spain was one State, of one nationality; so was France. The State and the Nation were one. But the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian Governments had no sympathy for Nationalist ideas, and in the other States the princes who had been absolute rulers within their own dominions for centuries had no sympathy with the idea of popular rights. The Tsar was much inclined to grant popular institutions like those in Great Britain, but only as favours, generous experiments permitted by a benevolent ruler —not as a thing which any one had a right to demand. Afterwards when he found that popular institutions meant ungrateful criticisms of his government, he changed his mind. None of the other princes were inclined to grant popular institutions, though they had no objection to promising to do so at some future time.

The European States.

So the Powers decided that the princes should be generally restored in their old dominions—except in Poland, most of which was to be not a part of Russia but a kingdom whose king was to be the Tsar. William of Orange became king of Holland and Belgium. George III. became king of Hanover instead of Elector. Prussia got what had been Jerome Bonaparte's 'kingdom of Westphalia,' on the Rhine. Lombardy went back to Austria, and Piedmont to the king of Sardinia. Louis XVIII. gave France a 'constitution' because he was shrewd enough to know that the country could not and would not bear the old form of monarchy. The Tsar gave Poland a constitution, but reserved his own supreme authority. No one else tried the experiment.

New boundaries.

Now it is easy to see why the princes had no liking either for nationalism or for popular institutions. Nationalism could be fitted into a great dominion like the British Empire by a voluntary union of the several parts which at the same time recognised the separateness of the several parts; the fact, that is, that each

2. Reaction.

part—so far as concerned its own affairs—had to be treated in a manner suited to its own traditions. In the Austrian or Turkish empires, the monarch would not recognise the separateness of the parts and wanted to rule them all in the same fashion through officials of his own race. And on the other hand a close union of Germany would mean that each prince would lose his independence; while Italy was divided mainly between the kingdom of the Sicilies under a Bourbon who was looked on as a foreigner, Lombardy and Tuscany subject to Austria, the Papal States, and Piedmont, a genuine Italian kingdom whose monarch took his title from the Italian island of Sardinia. Obviously none of the rulers except the last could favour the idea of Italian unity.

The Vienna Settlement then, which restored the absolute authority of the princes, was hostile both to the Popular and the Nationalist movements which had been set going by the French Revolution and the domination of Napoleon. But Great Britain had solved its own nationalist question, and had won empire on the foundation of popular institutions; therefore sentiment in these islands was sympathetic to both the movements when they were going on in other countries, especially as the old dread of Jacobinism and Revolution faded. In France the monarchy and the restored émigrés were on the side of the princes, while the mass of public sentiment was on the other side. If the old state of things, the *ancien régime*, could have been fully restored in France, she would have acted in complete agreement with the princes; but public opinion there was too strong to be altogether overridden, so that when Britain and the other Governments were opposed on these questions France might be counted as neutral.

The British attitude.

This antagonism spoilt the dream of Tsar Alexander—a dream that may yet be fulfilled. For he dreamed as we do to-day of a united Europe in which there should be no more wars of aggression such as had shaken the world continuously for the last twenty years even more grievously than in the past centuries. In his dream the united Governments were to preserve the peace; and he sought to attain his object by a Holy Alliance between all Christian princes. But unfortunately it was also a part of his dream that the league should maintain the authority of all princes over subjects who rebelled against them. Whereas the British view, and the view of the French people, was that rebellion was a question between the prince and his own subjects, with which no one else had a right to interfere; every country had a right to settle its own form of government for itself.

The Holy Alliance.

The Alliance therefore became only a league between the Tsar, the Austrian emperor, and the king of Prussia, joined by minor princes; while Britain always and France generally opposed the intervention of the Powers in the domestic affairs of other States. Still, the idea had entered into men's minds that wars ought to be prevented, and that the way to prevent them between nations was through combined and agreed action by the Powers in concert—which meant practically the five great Powers.

The Holy Alliance broke down; but for some time congresses of the great Powers were summoned at intervals to decide what common action—if any—should be taken for the settlement of vexed questions of international politics. And this had the actual practical result that for nearly forty years after Waterloo there was no actual war between the great Powers. Also on several occasions it was the attitude of the British which restrained the Holy Alliance from intervening on behalf of the monarchs when oppressed populations rose against tyrannical rulers.

Inter-national Peace.

During this period the monarchs everywhere were desperately afraid of 'the Revolution,' afraid that the ideas of popular liberty which had spread from France would lead to attempts at revolution; and they were generally convinced that the way to prevent revolution was to forbid free speech, punish free criticism, and preserve their own authority by inspiring fear. In France Louis XVIII. was too shrewd to follow this line; but when he was succeeded by his brother Charles X., the king's attempts to crush even the established popular liberties brought about another revolution in 1830—bloodless this time—which drove him from the throne, and set on it his cousin Louis-Philippe of Orleans; to reign for eighteen years as a king with limited powers, after the British model, which gave the greatest political power to the French middle classes; who were as much afraid as any one of a 'Red Republic' and the kind of 'liberty' under which France had suffered during the Reign of Terror in 1793. But everywhere else in Europe 'revolutionary' movements were stamped down by what is called 'the Reaction,' the party and the rulers in whose eyes the granting of any kind of political power to the people was only clearing the course for the triumph of 'Jacobinism.'

3. Dread of the Revolution.

In one corner of Europe however the spirit of nationalism met with unexpected success. The Turkish empire extended over Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, and other provinces on the Mediter-

ranean coast of Africa, where Mohammedan governors ruled over peoples who were for the most part Mohammedan, though in Asia there were areas (such as Armenia) where the people were mostly Christians. But Turkey in Europe meant the whole of what we call the Balkan peninsula; the peoples were Greeks, Albanians, Serbs, other Slavs, Bulgarians, Rumanians, very few of them Turks, though they were in the grip of Turkish rule; the islands of the Aegean Sea were Greek, though everywhere there was a varying proportion of Mohammedans among the Christians and everywhere the Mohammedans with few exceptions were the rulers, the Christians their down-trodden subjects. The Greeks revolted. In Great Britain, in France, and in Russia there was warm sympathy for Christians striving against Moslem oppression; but palpably this was a case of subjects rising in arms against their rulers, a case in which Britain could not support intervention on behalf of the rebels without surrendering her case against intervention on behalf of monarchs elsewhere. The Powers might advise and threaten, but they could not take up arms—and none of them could allow another to break away and intervene, though it would have given Russia immense satisfaction to do so. For there was nothing that Russia desired more than to gain an influence in Turkey which would give her practical control over Constantinople and the passage between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

Rising of Greece.

Britain, Russia, and Greece.

So volunteers from the sympathising countries fought on the side of the Greeks while the Governments only threatened. When the Turkish Government called in the help of the Pasha of Egypt, the three Powers could treat that as 'foreign intervention' which they were entitled to prevent; and a British squadron, supported by French and Russians, sank the Egyptian fleet in the bay of Navarino (1827). But there was 'no war with Turkey,' and in the end it was Russian rather than British influence which finally induced the Porte—as the Turkish Government was commonly called—to recognise Greece as an independent kingdom in 1833.

Altogether outside Europe however the revolutionary movement was active in the South American dominions of Spain. With the exception of Brazil, which belonged to Portugal, the whole of South and Central America, including Mexico, belonged to Spain. This vast dominion had a population partly of pure 'Indian' descent (all the original natives of America, the races which were there before the Spaniards arrived, were known to the

South America.

Europeans as Indians); partly Mulatto, that is, of mixed Indian and European descent; partly Creole, that is, of pure European descent, but born and bred in America. But they were ruled by governors and officials sent out from Spain. They revolted against this European rule. Owing to the action of Britain and the United States, the European Powers were prevented from intervening in support of the Spanish rule; Spanish America was lost to Spain and became a collection of republics. It was at this time that the United States under President Monroe laid down what is called the Monroe doctrine—that none of the States in the Old World should be permitted to interfere with any part of America, except in such territories as were actually within their own dominions (like Canada or Brazil); and that any such interference would be resented and resisted by the United States, as the leading State on the American continent.

II. The United Kingdom: 1815-1832.

Summary of Governments—British Foreign Policy—Ireland.

1. Parties broken up.

At the time when the long French wars broke out in 1793, the old party divisions in the British Parliament had gone to pieces. One section of the old Whigs, led by Charles James Fox, remained in sympathy with the French Republic, and were hotly opposed to the war—which in their eyes was a war for the restoration of the old system of government by absolute monarchs. The larger part of the Whigs however gave their support to Pitt, regarding the war as one to prevent the domination of France over Europe and, after the truce of Amiens, to save the British Empire itself from destruction at the hands of Napoleon. All the ideas of domestic reforms which the Whigs had shared with Pitt had to be dropped, since it appeared for the time that everything must give way to the supreme need of national resistance to France. The very reforms which had seemed desirable before seemed so no longer, for, judging by what happened in France, any extension of popular government, anything which took the business of government out of the hands of the ruling class, would lead first to red revolution and then to a military dictatorship in which Liberty, as Englishmen understood it, would have no place. When Pitt himself died in 1806, even Fox and his followers joined in the coalition of all parties for carrying on the war which was known as the Ministry of All the Talents. But the coalition broke down, as coalitions will when the members are in violent disagreement about everything except

the single purpose for which the coalition was formed; and from 1807 onwards the ministries became more and more dominated by the Tories, the men who were as much afraid of the 'revolution' as of Napoleon.

Thus in 1815 the chief of the Government was Lord Liverpool, who had become Prime Minister in 1812, while its real head was Castlereagh. Most of its members, though not all, belonged to the extreme reactionary section which lived in constant dread of the 'revolution.' In 1822 Castlereagh broke down under the strain of anxiety and overwork. He committed suicide, and his place as Foreign Secretary was taken by his rival George Canning, Liverpool still continuing to be the nominal chief. How these two differed both in their conduct of foreign policy and in their attitude to domestic problems we shall see presently. The growth of the 'Canningite' section in the ministry prepared the way for Canning himself to succeed Liverpool as Prime Minister in 1827. He died a few months later, but not till the Tories had actually broken with the Canningites. Then for nearly three years the Tories ruled under the Duke of Wellington's leadership. The Canningites were now definitely associated with the Whigs; on the fall of Wellington's ministry in 1830, a Whig ministry was at last formed under Lord Grey, and opened the eighteen months' battle for parliamentary reform which was carried to a triumphant issue in 1832.

Ministries, 1815-32.

When Waterloo was fought George III. was still king, but he had finally succumbed to the brain attacks from which he had suffered at intervals all his life, and was hopelessly insane. On his death he was succeeded by his eldest son, George IV., who had already been Prince Regent for several years, so that his accession made no difference. He died in 1830 leaving no children, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving brother (the Duke of Clarence), William IV., the king under whom the Great Reform Bill was passed.

The three kings.

THE bottom principles of Tsar Alexander's Holy Alliance were—first, that monarchs rule by divine right as God's vicegerents in their own dominions, responsible to none but God, with an absolute authority derived from God; secondly, that it is their Christian duty to seek the welfare of their subjects, though no one has a right to call them to account or to resist them if they neglect their duty. The Alliance was a compact between monarchs to maintain the authority of all monarchs everywhere; but though it

2. Castlereagh and Europe.

pledged them—like a coronation oath—to do their duty by their subjects, it claimed no right to compel them to do so. It did not recognise that subjects have any rights as against the monarch.

But the root-principle of British policy was that every State has a right to manage its own affairs without foreign intervention; and bound up with that was the British conviction that subjects have rights as against their rulers, and that monarchs reign not by divine right but by popular consent—a doctrine also so thoroughly established in the minds of the French people that neither Britain nor France could possibly be brought into accord with the Holy Alliance, the league not of nations but of monarchs.

In spite of his reactionary sympathies, Castlereagh held by that principle with unwavering firmness; though while he lived there was never any question of Britain taking up arms to enforce it against other Powers.

George Canning.

But just at the time when Canning succeeded Castlereagh at the Foreign Office the Powers of the Holy Alliance were becoming very eager to intervene in countries where tyrannical princes were driving their subjects to revolution. Castlereagh's attitude had been that of resolute neutrality; but neutrality was no longer sufficient. Austria, Russia, and the 'ultra'-monarchists who were in power in France would have taken action in Naples or Spain or Portugal, where there were insurrectionary movements of one kind or another, had not Canning taken the line that if that were done Britain would intervene in arms on the other side. For Castlereagh it had been enough to protest, and refuse Britain's co-operation; for Canning it had become necessary to threaten active British opposition; and we have already seen how President Monroe in the United States took up a similar attitude in regard to South America. But the point which struck Governments abroad and reactionaries at home most forcibly was that Canning openly expressed the sympathy of Britain with the popular and nationalist movements.

Sympathy with popular movements.

In that, however, he had at his back the sentiment of the majority of his countrymen. All through the reign of George IV., the dread of the 'revolution' was fading, and the old pre-war attitude towards peoples striving for the freedom long enjoyed in these islands was reviving. While the Greeks were fighting for independence, numbers of Englishmen, including the poet Byron, joined their forces as volunteers. Still, though in Greece as in South America Canning roused the wrath of the monarchists by treat-

ing the insurgents and the insurgent Governments not as 'rebels' but as 'belligerents,' States at war with the State which claimed sovereignty over them, yet he would not go farther and claim for Britain, or allow other States to claim, the right of armed intervention between the combatants.

Only when Canning had actually become Prime Minister he came to an agreement with Russia and France for jointly compelling both Turks and Greeks to suspend hostilities. The demand was backed by the appearance of an allied squadron in Greek or Turkish waters; which immediately after Canning's own death resulted in the battle of Navarino, the engagement in which the British admiral Codrington sank the Egyptian fleet, which in fact had first opened fire. Navarino.

The battle however was not followed by war. The ministry which had been Canning's was not strong enough to carry on for more than a few months after his death under his weak successor Goderich. It fell, and the Tories came into office, having as their chiefs the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. Wellington, the great soldier, had an intense horror of war; he had been in agreement with Castlereagh, and detested Canning's doctrine of 'intervening to prevent intervention'; and under his guidance Britain returned to the position of passive neutrality. The British withdrawal left Russia practically a free hand; Austria and Prussia would not act against her; so in effect it was Russia that forced Turkey to concede Greek independence, and Russia whose influence became for some years supreme at Constantinople—the position which Canning's policy had been specially designed to prevent. Wellington.

3. Ireland.

The separate Irish Parliament had ceased to exist in the last year of the eighteenth century. Until 1782 it had been a Parliament with very limited powers. From 1782 to 1800 it had been independent in the sense that its legislation was free from control by the Privy Council and Parliament of Great Britain; though it was still representative only of Protestants in a country where four-fifths of the population were Roman Catholics. In 1800 it disappeared, and in 1801 the Parliament at Westminster was for the first time (except during the brief period of Cromwell's Commonwealth) the Parliament of the United Kingdom; a Parliament in which Ireland as well as Scotland had its proportion of elected members in the House of Commons and of hereditary peers in the House

Her grievances.

of Lords. But the refusal of George III. to concede Catholic emancipation still kept its membership, both in Lords and Commons, representative only of the Protestant minority. The administration—the officials who carried on the work of government—in England, Scotland, and Ireland, were all responsible to this British Parliament, not to the English, Scottish, or Irish section of it. But as concerned England and Scotland separately Parliament was guided by English or Scottish public opinion; as concerned Ireland it was guided mainly by Irish Protestant public opinion only, and that guidance was much more likely to be overridden by English public opinion (some three-fourths of the united Parliament being English) than was the case with Scotland—because what was matter of controversy in Ireland touched the interests of Englishmen to a much greater extent than any Scottish questions.

The Irish Catholics.

But the great grievances in Ireland were those not of Protestants but of Catholics—the religious grievance, that the Church of the small minority was compulsorily maintained by the land of the whole country which contributed nothing to the maintenance of the Church of the great majority; the political grievance that Catholics were shut out of all political activities; the agricultural grievances of the peasantry against the landlords; for while most of the landlords were Protestants, all the peasantry outside of Ulster were Catholics. There was no prospect of these grievances being remedied, at least so long as Catholic emancipation was refused. Thus the Union had entirely failed to reconcile the bulk of Ireland to the British control and the British connection, which in the eyes of the great majority of Irishmen were the cause of their grievances.

O'Connell.

Now Ireland had been thoroughly taught the lesson that nothing was to be gained by rebellion against the British Government. The policy adopted by the man who now made himself the popular Irish leader—the Roman Catholic Daniel O'Connell—was that of agitating in the first place for Catholic emancipation, the concession of full political rights to Catholics, though in his mind this was only a step towards an agitation for Repeal of the Union, and the restoration of an Irish Parliament. To this end he organised the Catholic Association, which was established in 1823. In 1828 he stood for the constituency of Clare, and, though a Catholic, he was elected by a huge majority. But being a Catholic he could not take his seat in Parliament. At Westminster the Tory administration led by Wellington and Peel had just come into power. The Tories were stoutly opposed to Catholic emancipation, though Castlereagh, Canning,

and the Canningites had all favoured it. But now Peel first and then Wellington became convinced that Catholic emancipation, though in itself wrong, was the only alternative to civil war in Ireland. They were not prepared to face civil war, and so in 1829 the Tory administration, in spite of the stubborn resistance of the 'Die-hards' of the day, carried the Act of Catholic Emancipation. From that time, except for their exclusion from a small number of offices, the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom have enjoyed the same political rights as Protestants. In the previous year the long-standing disabilities of Protestant Nonconformists had been removed by the repeal of the Test Act which had stood on the Statute-Book for a century and a half.

Catholic emancipation.

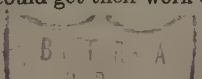
III. Great Britain: 1815-1830.

Capital and Labour—Combination or Legislation—Towards Free Trade—Birth of Steam Traffic.

The invention of power-driven machinery, and with it the enormous increase in the use of coal and iron, had changed all the conditions of life for the great mass of the population in the thirty years before Waterloo. It had covered northern England and southern Scotland with factories, to which a large proportion of the rapidly increasing population of manual workers was constantly drifting; and the whole of that population, in the fields, in the mines, and in the factories, was living upon starvation wages for the simple reason that fields, factories, and mines did not, among them, provide sufficient work for all, so that all were competing for employment at any wage and on any terms which would supply food enough to keep body and soul together. If half a dozen men refused the wage offered, there were a dozen ready and waiting to accept it in their place. The increased demand for the cheapened goods, though great, was not sufficient to give employment when the work of ten men produced as much as the work of a hundred in the old days. Every employer was competing with every other employer to sell his own goods at the lowest possible price, and therefore to produce his own goods as cheaply as possible. The man who offered higher wages than his neighbours found —or expected to find—that he could not put his goods on the market at the same price as his neighbours, and would be driven out of the field. Therefore all, or very nearly all, offered only the lowest wages for which they could get their work done. Practically the hand-

1. Capital and Labour.

A false antagonism.



worker was at the mercy of the employer, who was sure of getting all the labour of which he could make use. The employer dared not be generous, though he might wish it, lest he should find himself undersold in the market by less generous rivals.

Thus it appeared that there must always be a fierce antagonism between Capital and Labour, between employers and employed. It was only here and there that employers like Robert Owen saw that when labour was well paid and eager to give good work in return for good pay, production would be cheaper than where bad work was grudgingly given in return for bad pay.

Now this change was just taking place when in France the classes who lived by the work of their hands, only just above the margin of starvation, had been toppling over the old system. There was every inducement for the wage-earning classes to believe that if they, taking example by the French, toppled over the new system in England their wrongs would be righted; they had very little chance of seeing that if that happened they would only find themselves without any employment at all—without means for producing either food for themselves or anything which they could exchange for food. The governing classes in England could see that 'revolution' would mean destruction not only for themselves but for the labouring classes too; and it seemed to them that the one thing necessary was to prevent the labouring classes from getting any power into their own hands—to keep them under tight control for their own good.

Fear of revolution.

But the actual governing class was that of the landowners, not the manufacturers. They wished to be fair to employed and employers alike. They saw that if the labourers combined to demand high wages, the employers might be forced to give way, and that if employers combined to keep down wages, they would have the labourers at their mercy—it did not strike them that the labourers, uncombined, were actually at their mercy already. So, while the war was going on, they passed the 'combination laws' which made it an offence, subject to heavy penalties, for either employers or employed to form combinations or 'unions.'

Now there are only two ways in which it is possible to set right such a contest as that between capital and labour. One is, by voluntary agreement and compromise between the two, each recognising what is fair and just in the claims of the other. The other is by legislation, enforced by the State. Voluntary or willing agreement is possible only when the two sides can

2. Combination or legislation.

discuss points of difference on equal terms, with a mutual desire to be fair. Between employers and employed there could be no discussion on anything like equal terms unless the men could combine to make terms. The shrewdest of them saw that the object to be worked for was the right of combination, of which they were deprived by the combination laws, which they succeeded in getting repealed in 1825; though they found even then that any master could dismiss the men who combined to refuse the wages offered, and could easily fill their places, whereas when the men did combine to strike they were still, according to the judges, guilty of 'conspiracy' against the employer.

So the movement for workmen's unions went on slowly. Most of the workmen believed that they must follow the other plan of getting a Government which would make laws in their favour; and that could only be done if they got control of parliamentary elections, in which they had not even a vote. But the governing class believed that if they got so much as the vote, there would be a sort of French Revolution at once, as had happened when the Third Estate became the masters of the French National Assembly; a belief which was not altogether unreasonable. In their eyes, to demand the vote for the 'working man,' or to allow him to form unions which might be used for political purposes, was 'sedition,' which does not fall far short of treason. So that the reactionary Government under Castlereagh passed laws—in particular, one group known as the Six Acts—of which the chief purpose was to suppress the holding of public meetings without leave, free speech, and the publication of papers attacking the Government. All these things were being still more severely punished in foreign countries, though they had been regarded as the established right of Englishmen for half a century or a whole century before the French Revolution.

Agitation and repression.

Still in the governing class there was growing up the idea that even if it was bad for trade, humanity demanded that there should be legislation to protect women and children from being worked to death for the small wages which they were ready to accept in order to add a few shillings, or even pennies, to the husband's or the father's weekly earnings. This humane temper was showing itself in the years after Castlereagh's death, when Sir Robert Peel was at the Home Office. The English criminal law had until then been the most merciless known, punishing even petty thefts with death—so that juries often refused to convict, not because the crime was not

Humanitarianism.

proved, but because they would not have it on their consciences to send a man to his death for such trivial offences. These harsh laws were very much diminished in their severity. The death penalty was reserved only for really serious offences; and in consequence murders became much less common, because hitherto a man who had incurred the death penalty by committing some small crime would commit murder to escape capture, since the penalty if he were caught after all would be no greater.

3. The Free Trade remedy.

THERE was still however another way by which the position might be improved—by reducing the cost of living, and by increasing employment; the former by making bread cheaper, the latter by extending trade so that there should be a larger market for British goods; and the way to both, as it appeared to the followers of Adam Smith, was through Free Trade, by reducing tariffs on exports and imports, and especially on imported corn. But to every one connected with agriculture it appeared much more necessary to keep corn at a price which paid the British farmer and enabled him to keep poor soil under the plough than to reduce the price of bread—which would only enable the manufacturer to cut wages still lower and make more profit for himself.

In these years, then, the plan of remedying the grievances of the working man by combinations or unions to bargain with the employers made no great progress. The unions which were formed found that they had very little power. The governing classes were too strong and the middle class was too much afraid of revolution to give way at all to the demands of the labouring class for any share of political power. In spite of the growth of humanitarian sentiment, there was a general conviction that nothing must be done which could check the employer in getting the labour he wanted at the lowest possible price and producing his goods at the least possible cost. Europe, impoverished by the war, could not afford to buy British goods unless they were cheapened still more. And every one connected with the land, from top to bottom, was ready to resist to the uttermost the importation of foreign corn which would force down the price of British-grown corn, make living cheaper, and so make it possible to pay even lower wages.

But during the reign of George IV. one of the ministers, Huskisson, was able to return to those principles on which Pitt was acting in the years before the war broke out. Tariffs were reduced, with the un-

expected result that British manufacturers, no longer protected by Government against foreign competitors, protected themselves by improving their methods and making cheaper and better goods than the foreigners. The most striking change made by Huskisson was through an Act (the Reciprocity of Duties Bill) passed in 1823 which was followed by a whole series of treaties that almost did away with the old Navigation Acts. Nearly every one, including Adam Smith himself, believed that but for those Acts the English Navy would never have grown so powerful; the huge development of British commerce, British expansion in the East and West, had been secured by that navy; therefore in the long run the Navigation Acts had been profitable, though at the start they had been a check to trade. But their use was past. Now, they were only a check on trade. Both the Royal Navy and the mercantile fleets were far out of the reach of any competitors. There was a great clamour raised that without the Navigation Acts Britannia would no longer rule the waves —but twenty years after Huskisson's Act the British fleets instead of losing their lead had greatly increased it. Huskisson.

Another experiment of Huskisson's was less successful. Though a Canningite, he was for a time in the Wellington-Peel ministry of 1828; and in that time a Bill was passed which was intended on the one hand to make bread cheaper, and on the other to keep it at a price which ought to satisfy the farmers. The Corn Law of 1815 forbade any foreign corn to come into the country while the price of English corn was less than 80s. a quarter. Huskisson's plan was a 'sliding scale.' If English corn was plentiful and cheap, foreign corn was to be admitted, but only on paying a duty which would make it cost more than the English corn. The higher the price of English corn rose, the less was the duty on foreign corn to be, though it was never to be less than 1s. a quarter. Huskisson's proposal had been opposed and defeated by Wellington in the House of Lords when Canning was Prime Minister in 1827; but in 1828 the 'Iron Duke,' as men called him, had learned to see that even for the sake of the 'agricultural interest' the price of bread must not be kept so intolerably high. It was the Tory Government which passed the Bill, just as it was the same Government which passed Catholic emancipation. Wellington thought emancipation a bad thing, but not so bad as civil war; he thought anything which might diminish the amount of land under cultivation a bad thing, but not so bad as present starvation for the poor who could not buy bread to keep themselves alive; and so at last it was his Govern- The Sliding Scale.

ment that passed these measures which he had stubbornly opposed till the last moment.

4. A period of preparation.

Looking back over this chapter and the last, we can see that the whole of the war-time was a time when violent changes were taking place; but that the fifteen years after the war was a period during which the country was struggling with great difficulty and many blunders to adjust itself to those changes; a period not of a new and better order but of preparation for it. The actual period of reform set in with 1830. Only the movement towards Free Trade had been started again by Huskisson, and almost the last political disabilities imposed by religion had been removed in 1828-29 by the repeal of the Test Act and the Act of Catholic Emancipation.

Traffic.

During these years the way was also being prepared for another change which was to be of vast industrial importance. The production of wealth, of the goods which people want, had been enormously increased by the invention of the new steam-driven machinery. But it is no use producing goods unless they can be distributed—carried from the producer to the consumer, the person who wants to use them. Methods of distribution had been improved, but had not kept pace with the increased production. Decent roads had taken the place of the villainous old roads, but vast quantities of heavy goods could never be carried on them, and even small quantities could only be carried slowly as long as they were conveyed in wagons drawn by horses. More and heavier goods were carried, but still very slowly, on the canals, in barges drawn by horses.

Rails and steam.

But now the time had come when steam-power and steam-driven machinery were to be applied to haulage and traffic as well as to manufacture. A steam-engine which could drive revolving paddles was invented, and a paddle-boat was plying on the Clyde as early as 1812; but no real progress was made with steamboats till some time later. On the other hand, George Stephenson in the north succeeded, in 1814, in constructing a 'locomotive' steam-engine, driving by steam the wheels on which it moved. Some years earlier a new kind of road had been invented—a road on which iron rails were laid. A vehicle with wheels fitted to the rails so as not to slip off when it moved, travelled much more easily and smoothly—so that a horse could draw a very much greater weight without increased effort—than on an ordinary road. The combination of these two

inventions—the railroad and the locomotive steam-engine—were to revolutionise traffic as the stationary steam-engine had revolutionised manufacture. One steam-engine could draw a whole train of heavily-laden trucks, each of which would have required a horse to itself, while each truck could carry on the rails a heavier weight than a dozen wagons on an ordinary road. And the locomotive could move very much faster than any horse dragging a truck or wagon—while the truck moving on rails went as smoothly as a barge on the water, and very much more smoothly than a wagon on even the best of roads.

The rails could not be laid on the roads which were used for horse and foot traffic. It was very difficult to get permission to make new roads which would have to pass through private property, whose owners objected. It was not till 1821 that authority was obtained to lay down a line between Stockton and Darlington, on which the haulage was to be done by horses; but in 1823 Stephenson was allowed to use his steam-engine on it. The next proposals were to join Manchester and Liverpool by rail, and also London and Woolwich; passengers were to be carried as well as goods. Stephenson thought his engine would travel as much as fifteen miles an hour—which critics denounced as an insane proposal; no one, they said, would risk his life travelling at such breakneck speed! Nevertheless, the great experiment was made, and in 1830 the first steam railway was opened between Manchester and Liverpool. The era of steam traffic as well as of steam manufacture had begun.

George Stephenson.

IV. The Colonies and India: 1815-1830.

Canada, Australia, and the Cape—
India: Establishment of British Sovereignty.

The colonies, like the mother-country, were adjusting themselves to new conditions. Their story at this time is not marked by striking events, though these were to come in the next five-and-twenty years; but in all of them the movements were taking place which led up to those events.

1. Canada.

Canada, as we have seen, was divided by Pitt's Canada Act of 1791 into two separate colonies, each having its own Government: Ontario, or Upper Canada, which was mainly British, and Quebec or Lower Canada, which was mainly French. In each a few families, mainly United Empire Loyalists who had migrated thither when the United

States won their independence, exercised the supreme influence, filled the Governor's Councils, and held all the important Government posts. After the war a great emigration to Canada and the colonies on the south of the St. Lawrence set in from the British Isles, owing to the depressed condition of the working classes. These formed a new element, very hostile to the exclusive political power of the Families, which was also resented by the French in Lower Canada.

Emigration to Australia was slower; so many of the settlers already were released convicts or their children that association with them made the prospect unattractive. Still, as more free settlers went out, the proportion of convict families diminished, and increasing numbers inclined to the adventure. The centre of the first settlement—New South Wales—was at Sydney; a second centre was started with a new convict settlement at Brisbane, which afterwards developed into the separate colony of Queensland. And in 1829 the idea of Australian settlement had become sufficiently attractive for the starting of a new colony, Western Australia, with no convict settlement at all. Tasmania had been separated from New South Wales as early as 1812. The importation from home of sheep and cattle—there were no animals of that kind native to Australia—made wool-growing and stock-raising the principal employment of the settlers. In Australia there was no serious 'native' question, because the natives themselves were few and in a stage of civilisation too low to do anything but retreat before the white man.

Australia.

In South Africa on the other hand, a Dutch-Huguenot colony had been transferred to British dominion, though not by conquest. The position had some resemblance to that in Canada. The Government had to adapt itself to the needs and traditions of a population of European origin; but at the Cape these were already ruling over a population of Hottentots (not negroes), always threatened on the east by vigorous tribes of negro Kaffirs. The Dutch, accustomed—unlike the French in Canada—to self-government, resented the rule of a Governor and Council who were Englishmen with English ideas. As the British population grew with British emigration, so that British customs began to predominate, and the Governors had more and more justification for acting on British instead of Dutch methods, the resentment increased; but it had not yet come to a head.

The Cape.

Perhaps the most acute point of difference was in the attitude of British and Dutch towards the natives, Hottentot or negro. The Dutchman was still a seventeenth-century Puritan with a creed drawn

from the Old Testament. The black children of Ham were in his eyes the predestined slaves of the sons of Japheth—unless they ought rather to be regarded as the Canaanites were regarded by the Israelites. They should be dealt with always by the strong hand and without mercy. The British on the spot were always aware that the strong hand was necessary, but the Governors had to respect the sentiments of the British who were not on the spot but in England—always ready to suspect their countrymen abroad of brutally oppressing weaker races. The benevolent protection extended by the Government to the natives was in the eyes of the Dutch both dangerous and contemptible.

2. India.

In India the work of Wellesley was completed by Lord Moira (who is also known by his later title, Marquess of Hastings). That is, it was during his governorship that the East India Company, in place of the Mogul (who still lived in state at Delhi), was recognised as sovereign over all India, except the Punjab on the upper Indus and Sindh on the lower. That did not mean that all India was governed by the British—more than half of it remained under the government of the native princes. But all the native princes acknowledged the right of the British to forbid or to punish separate wars or alliances between them, to limit their armies, to direct their governments while the ruling prince was a minor, to settle questions of succession, and—in extreme cases—to depose the ruler and take over the government themselves.

The Pindari War.

This change was brought about by the Pindari war which developed into the decisive Maratha war; because after Wellesley's retirement the Peshwa of Poona was the only one of the Maratha princes who fully acknowledged the British authority—and he was only waiting his opportunity to throw it off. The combined Marathas were the only power left which still might possibly challenge the British supremacy. It was partly to weaken the British that they had encouraged the hordes of Pindari brigands who were permitted to establish themselves within their territories, and from thence to terrorise Central India. Minto had wished to crush the Pindaris, but the India House (the East India Company in England) and the British Government had insisted on 'non-intervention.' Moira on his first arrival had been occupied with the Ghurka war. But when that was over, he was resolved to end the Pindari terror. George Canning, who at that time became President of the Board of Control, saw that the thing must be done.

So Moira organised against the Pindaris in 1817 a campaign on a bigger scale than had ever been undertaken by the British in India before—because he knew that only the use of overwhelming force would prevent the Marathas from striking in. By a skilful movement, Sindhia at Gwalior was cut off from interposing. But both at Nagpur and at Poona, the Maratha governments attacked the British troops or civilians in residence there. At both the attacks were defeated; by the beginning of 1818 the Pindaris had been crushed. Holkar and a new Bhonsla at Nagpur accepted—like Sindhia—the 'subsidiary alliance' which they had before rejected; the Peshwa Baji Rao, owing to his repeated treacheries, was deposed though he was given a huge pension and large estates in British territory; and what had been the Peshwa's dominions were annexed and taken under direct British administration (1819).

The Maratha submission.

This (with one small exception) was the last British war on Indian soil for more than twenty years. The exception was in 1826, when the small State of Bhurtpore chose to defy the British authority—relying upon the strength of the fortress there which was supposed to be impregnable, and had in fact successfully repulsed General Lake twenty years before. This time, however, it was taken by the skill of the British Engineers; and the rash experiment was not repeated.

Amherst.

Bhurtpore's defiance followed upon an expedition which Lord Amherst—Moira's successor—was obliged to send across the bay of Bengal against the emperor of Burma, who actually demanded tribute from India as a part of his empire. The result of this war was the first British annexation in Further India—the province of Tenasserim.

In 1828 Amherst was succeeded by Lord William Bentinck, who found himself free from all necessity for war, and was able to give his attention entirely to improvements in the government of British India; of which the story will be told later.

V. The Great Reform Bill: 1831-1832.

Need of Parliamentary Reform—Grey's Reform Bill—The Bill passed.

THE years 1830-1832 form a very definite landmark in British history, because in them was fought the political battle which gave the control of Parliament to a large instead of a small section of the people; a section which had always had a voice, but not hitherto the predominant voice; which had always been able to exer-

1. Parliament.

cise an influence, but not the predominant influence. The control of policy had definitely passed from the Crown to Parliament with the Revolution of 1688, the climax of the contest for supremacy between Crown and Parliament which had been going on since the accession of James I. in 1603. But the victory of Parliament over the Crown had been the victory of the class which was able to control parliamentary elections, a class generally in agreement with intelligent and educated public opinion, but always—like every class in the whole community—convinced that everything which seemed to be opposed to its own class interests and its own class domination was opposed to the interests of society and of the State as a whole.

This dominant class was that of the large landowners. They controlled the elections in this way. Members were returned to Parliament either by boroughs or by county constituencies. In the counties, the electors generally voted as the big landlords desired—the biggest landlords being generally peers. Thus the landlord class controlled the county electorates. But in addition to this a few of the biggest of them also controlled the electorate in a considerable number of 'pocket' boroughs, in which the electors were few, and were for the most part tenants of the big landlord of whose estate the borough was a part. Thus it was only in the big boroughs that the big landlords as a class did not hold the controlling influence.

When Edward I. made his Model Parliament, the boroughs which sent members to Parliament were the big flourishing towns. Four hundred years later, a good many of them were still big flourishing towns; but many of them, without ceasing to be boroughs, had lost their trade (which had gone to other towns), dwindled into being little more than villages, and so become the 'pocket' boroughs of the landowner. Besides these, new boroughs had from time to time been created; but they were small places which had been made boroughs because the Crown or the ministers of the day could count upon controlling the voting there. They only increased the number of pocket boroughs. On the other hand, during four hundred years many small towns had grown large, and in the last half century large new towns had sprung up round the factories: but these had not been made boroughs, while very few of their inhabitants had the right of voting for the county.

Pocket boroughs.

There are still two more points to be noted. In the county, the yeoman in the old days had possessed the vote and used it. But in the nineteenth century the yeoman had disappeared—in other words a

large proportion of the peasantry who used to have a free vote had lost it. And secondly, while the property qualification for voters was the same in all the counties, in the boroughs there were all sorts of different rules.

Now before the Industrial Revolution began, matters had been so bad that Chatham had warned Parliament that if it did not set about reforming the system of representation, the rules which governed parliamentary elections, it would find reform 'with a vengeance'—that is, much more violent reform—forced upon it. The younger Pitt had supported moderate reform; but the French Revolution had for the time put an end to the movement, while it is easy to see that the Industrial Revolution made the unfairness and the inequalities of the existing system much worse than they had been before. Merchants and manufacturers, professional men, tradesmen, might all agree with the landowners that it would be a very dangerous thing for the State if the franchise or suffrage—the right of voting at parliamentary elections—were given to the uneducated wage-earning class; but they all felt that they themselves were quite as well fitted as the landowners to vote and to take an active part in the government. It was not right that so few persons should among them be able to hold so many seats, that a village should have a representative to itself when a big town had none, or that the qualification for voting should be different in different towns.

Recent changes.

Now it might be said that when peace came there were really three parties in Parliament—the regular Whigs, the regular Tories, and those of whom George Canning was a type, who were kept attached to the Tories as long as Lord Liverpool was Prime Minister. This section supported Huskisson's financial reforms, favoured Catholic emancipation, and sympathised like Canning himself with nationalist and popular movements abroad. But it could not shake off its dread of 'Jacobinism' and the 'Revolution'; Canning himself supported the Government's repressive measures in Castlereagh's time. The whole group was still inclined to believe that it would be dangerous to let the control of government pass out of the hands of the actual governing class; and this was the firm conviction of the Tories and the majority of the peers, who were in fact themselves the governing class.

2. Fear of reform.

But the old Whigs revived the demand for reform; partly perhaps because they felt that without reform their own party was not likely

to come into power. Year after year all through the reign of George IV. they moved in the Commons resolutions in favour of reform, which were regularly defeated as long as Canning was alive. The revived demand. But when Wellington formed his Tory administration in 1828, the Canningites were drawn over to union with the Whigs. The tide of the demand for reform outside Parliament was rising. The Act of Catholic Emancipation weakened the Government. In the summer of 1830 George IV. died. As a young man he had been associated with Fox; as king he had become a reactionary, though without taking an active part in politics. The brother who succeeded him, William duke of Clarence, was believed to favour reform. Parliament was dissolved almost immediately on his accession—there had been no general election since 1826—and in the new Parliament there was a majority of Whigs and Canningites. The Whig leader, Earl Grey, who was pledged with his whole party to the cause of parliamentary reform, was called to the head of a new Government, and half his ministry were Canningites.

The battle was joined at once. In March 1831 the first Reform Bill was brought in. It proposed that boroughs with less than 2000 inhabitants should be abolished, and those with less than 4000 should have only one member instead of two. The 168 seats thus done away with were to be replaced by several new boroughs, and by increased representation of the counties, of London, and of Scotland and Ireland. In the counties the franchise was to be slightly extended; in the boroughs one rule was to apply to all—which meant that in a few places a few people would be deprived of their vote, but in most a large number of middle-class voters would be added. Grey's Reform Bill.

When a Bill is brought before Parliament, it is said to be read for the first time. At the 'second reading,' the House can either reject it or decide to go on with it. In the latter case it is said to have 'passed the second reading.' The next stage is to discuss it, clause by clause, and also any proposed alterations, additions, or omissions (which are all called 'amendments'), in what is called a 'committee of the whole House.' During this process the Bill can be very much changed. If the ministers—who are all bound to act together—resist any amendment which is carried in committee, or themselves propose or support an amendment which is rejected, the Government is said to have been defeated, and the ministry generally resign in a body, or else appeal to the country; that is, Parliament is dissolved and there is a fresh general election. The Reform Bill passed its second reading by a majority of only one; the Govern- Parliamentary procedure.

ment was then defeated on an amendment in committee. Ministers did not resign, but appealed to the country. Public excitement rose very high, men voted according to their convictions instead of as the magnates wished; and in the new House of Commons the supporters of the Bill were in a big majority.

3. The Second Bill.

The Bill was brought in again; the second reading was carried in July (1831); the Government kept its majority all through the committee stage, and then the finished Bill passed the third reading by a majority of a hundred in September. Then it had to go up to the House of Lords. There it was defeated on the second reading by a majority of forty (October).

Earl Grey and the Lords.

Grey did not resign, nor did he appeal to the country. Parliament was prorogued, and met again in December. Meanwhile the excitement had risen higher than ever. There had been popular riots in support of the Bill; there was no doubt about the feeling in the country. The question was to be fought out between the Lords and the Commons. A solid majority of the Commons was determined to carry the Bill which a solid majority of the Lords was resolved to defeat. Without consent of the Lords, the Bill could not become law; but there was one legal method—though a very extreme one—of securing a Government majority in the Lords. It is the prerogative of the Crown to create peers—always, in practice, by the advice of ministers. By the creation of fifty new peers the Government's minority would be turned into a majority. This was the threat held out by Grey to the Tory leader in the Lords, Wellington. If the Lords again rejected the Bill the king would be asked to create enough new peers to pass it.

In face of the threat, the Lords passed the second reading of the third Bill by a small majority, but declared their intention of amending it in committee. Grey was determined to accept no amendments. The king tried to escape his ministers' demand for the creation of peers by accepting their resignation and calling on Wellington to form a ministry and bring in a Reform Bill of his own. But Wellington could not form a ministry; Peel would not join—he was flatly opposed to parliamentary reform; a Tory reform bill was in short impossible. In a week Grey was back in office, with King William's promise that he would create the new peers when called on.

The peers now had the two alternatives before them; they must either voluntarily assent to a measure which they detested, or submit

to have the whole character of the hereditary Chamber changed by a flood of new creations, without preventing the Bill from becoming law. The die-hards preferred the second alternative; but the duke saw a way of escape. His personal influence was so strong that he was able to promise Grey that he, with a hundred of his followers in the Upper House, would abstain from discussion or voting in committee, so that the Bill would be sure of passing as it stood, without amendment. Grey accepted the promise; the new peers were not created, and on 7th June 1832 the Reform Bill, unaltered, passed the third reading in the House of Lords, and received the Royal Assent.

The Bill passed, June 1832.

The victory of parliamentary reform was won. Landowners still had a predominating influence in rural districts over the county elections; but the pocket boroughs had vanished. About a third of the members of the House of Commons had been merely the candidates chosen by particular magnates; thenceforth each one, in town or country, was elected by a group of free electors among whom was numbered every one who was the tenant of a substantial holding, or was prosperous enough to be a ten-pound householder and a rate-payer. The great majority of the electors were middle-class people, traders big or small, professional men, or farmers; of whom even the last were not dependent on the goodwill of the landlord, though in most respects the interests of landlord and tenant were the same. One class had hitherto composed the House of Lords and dominated the House of Commons; now in the Commons its influence was to be less than that of the manufacturers and merchants. Until the Reform struggle arose, the majority in the Lords and the majority in the Commons had been habitually in agreement. But now, Lords and Commons represented different classes with different class interests, and a new antagonism between the two Houses was born.

Its effect.

SUMMARIES

Acts of Parliament: 1815-1832.

Six Acts, 1818. A group of Acts passed in a panic. Three of them were quite properly made to prevent unauthorised arming and drilling which could only be for the purpose of armed rebellion. Two were of no moment. The sixth prohibited as seditious all gatherings of more than a few persons which had not been officially sanctioned and summoned by the authorities of the county or borough.

Reciprocity of Duties Act, 1823, gave power to the Government to make treaties for the 'reciprocal' reduction (that is, reduction by both countries) of duties on goods coming from the other; and especially to suspend the operation of the Navigation Acts between them.

Combination Laws Repealed, 1825. Not a formal repeal, but new laws which practically did away with them.

Test Act Repealed, 1828. Nonconformists could hold public offices or enter Parliament without any legal hindrance.

Sliding Scale, 1828. In place of the 1815 Corn Law prohibiting the import of corn when the price was under 80s. a duty of 23s. was imposed when the price was so low as 64s., reduced by degrees as the price rose till it was only one shilling when the price was 73s. or more.

Catholic Emancipation, 1829, removed all political disabilities of Roman Catholics throughout the United Kingdom, except that they were still barred from succession to the throne, from the offices of Regent or Viceroy, and from the Lord Chancellorships of England and Ireland.

Reform Bill, 1832, abolished all boroughs (56) with less than 2000 inhabitants, and the second member for surviving boroughs (32) with less than 4000; added to the number of members for the English counties (65), for Ireland (5), and for Scotland (8); and created a number of large towns (43) boroughs; extended the County Franchise to Forty-shilling free-holders, Ten-pound copy-holders, and Fifty-pound lease-holders, and gave a uniform franchise to all boroughs, admitting every Ten-pound householder who paid rates—the sums named meaning the annual rent paid.

Chronology: 1814-1832.

1814-15. Vienna Congress.
1815. Waterloo.
1818. Six Acts.
1818-19. India: Pindari and Maratha War.
1820-30. GEORGE IV.
1822-32. *Greek War of Independence.*
1822-27. Canning at the Foreign Office.
1822-29. India: Amherst Governor-General.
1823-26. India: First Burmese War.
1823. *Monroe doctrine laid down.*
Reciprocity of Duties Act.
O'Connell's Catholic Association.
1825. Combination Laws repealed.
1827. Canning (succeeded by Goderich) Prime Minister.
Oct. Navarino.
1828-30. Wellington-Peel ministry.
1828. Sliding Scale.
Test Act repealed.
1828-35. India: Lord W. Bentinck, Governor-General.
1829. Catholic Emancipation.
1830-37. WILLIAM IV.
1830. Railway between Manchester and Liverpool opened.
France: the July Revolution expels the Bourbon monarchy and establishes LOUIS PHILIPPE *of Orleans* (1830-48) *as a constitutional king.*
1831-34. Earl Grey, Prime Minister.
1831. *March.* First Reform Bill.
July. Second Reform Bill.
Dec. Third Reform Bill.
1832. *June.* Reform Bill passed.

CHAPTER IX

MIDDLE CLASS RULE: (i) 1831-1853.

I. Europe and Palmerston: 1831-1853.

Britain and the Powers—The Belgian and Turkish Questions—The Year of Revolutions—Victory of the Reaction.

EARL GREY'S Whig-Canningite ministry came into office at the beginning of 1831. Before long this party combination was adopting the title 'Liberal,' which had hitherto been applied to the constitutionalists and nationalists on the Continent, while the Tory party, led by Wellington and Peel, was adopting that of Conservative. The Liberals held office continuously until 1852, except during five months (in 1834-5) and five years (1841-6) when Peel was Prime Minister. Peel's free-trade policy split the Conservatives; the Peelites left their old party, which came into office again for some months in 1852. At the end of 1852 Peelites and Liberals formed a coalition which came into office under Lord Aberdeen, and before long the Peelites were absorbed into the Liberal party. In all the Liberal ministries from 1831 to the end of 1851 the conduct of foreign policy was autocratically controlled by the Canningite 'Foreign Minister,' Lord Palmerston, an Irish peer who sat for an English constituency in the British House of Commons.

1. Parties, 1831-53.

Palmerston stood for the principles on which Canning had acted at the Foreign Office. On all international questions, the voice of Britain was to make itself heard very emphatically; British interests were to be vigorously upheld. Every state, large or small, in matters which concerned itself alone, was to be left by other states to work out its own salvation, without interference from outside. If the affairs of a particular state—such as the Turkish Empire—materially affected the interests of other states, intervention might be necessary; but it must be joint intervention, not isolated action by one Power or another, if more than one Power was concerned

Palmerston.

—though all Governments were entitled to declare their sympathies. British interests demanded special vigilance in two fields—France must not be allowed to acquire a dominating influence in the Spanish peninsula or in Belgium; Russia must not dominate Turkey. Finally, British sympathies would always be on the side of constitutionalist and nationalist movements, but actual British intervention would be confined to preventing intervention by others.

Jealousy of French power was traditional and inevitable; but France had shaken off Bourbon absolutism, and at the same time rejected Red republicanism by the Revolution of 1830; which had set on the throne the 'citizen king' Louis Philippe (whose father, the Duke of Orleans, had been known as Philippe Égalité, and was associated with the Girondists), and established a constitution which placed political power chiefly in the hands of the *bourgeoisie* or middle classes. Consequently, where the direct interests of the two Powers did not clash, France and Britain were likely to hold similar views on international questions. Jealousy of Russia was due to the fear of her expansion towards India, and of her obtaining naval access to the Mediterranean by dominating Turkey and controlling the Dardanelles. But there was no direct clash of interests between Britain and either the German States in general or Austria in particular.

Relations with France:

with Russia:

In the relations with Germany however we must note a change which took place in 1837. Since 1714, the King of England had also been Elector, or latterly King of Hanover; Hanoverian interests in Germany had as a necessary consequence affected British policy. But the death of William IV. in 1837 placed on the British throne his niece the Princess Victoria, daughter of his deceased brother, Edward Duke of Kent. In Hanover however the succession was in the male line only; therefore the throne of Hanover passed not to her but to her uncle Ernest Duke of Cumberland, the fifth of George III.'s sons—Edward of Kent had been the fourth; and Hanover was entirely separated from England.

with Germany.

On the other hand, the young queen married in 1840 her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. From this she gained an intimate knowledge of German affairs and a sympathy for the German aspirations during the first thirty years of her reign which frequently influenced the policy of her ministers, though she never attempted to take the actual direction of affairs out of their hands; and it was sometimes complained that German interests were too much considered.

When Palmerston came to the Foreign Office in 1831, Russia—owing to the extremes to which the Wellington ministry carried the non-intervention policy—was on the point of establishing a very complete ascendency at Constantinople. Another question however kept Palmerston's hands full. The Vienna Congress had handed over Belgium—formerly the Austrian Netherlands—to the kingdom of Holland. Belgium was not Dutch in tradition and character or, for the most part, in race, language, or religion. She detested Dutch rule, and rose against it, demanding independence. Russia and Austria protested against any disturbance of the Vienna treaties and settlement; France and Britain sympathised with Belgium, but France wanted Belgium to be independent of Holland mainly that it might become a dependency of her own. It was mainly owing to the firm attitude of Palmerston that Belgium became a separate kingdom in 1833, and that its crown was set on the head of Leopold of Saxe-Gotha, uncle of the Princess Victoria, who was then heiress-presumptive to the British throne. In 1839 the security of Belgium was finally established by treaties guaranteeing her neutrality as well as her territorial integrity, which were signed by France, Britain, and Prussia. These treaties were the 'scrap of paper' which became so famous in 1914. But for Palmerston, Louis Philippe would have tried to obtain the new kingdom for one of his sons.

2. Belgian Independence.

Palmerston's great achievement however, during the ten years, was his success in making British instead of Russian influence predominant at Constantinople. The Albanian Moslem Mehemet Ali, who had long been Pasha of Egypt, was on the verge of making himself master of Syria also, and setting up an independent sovereignty. This would have suited France, which wished Egypt to become something between an ally and a dependency of her own. Russia was on the point of intervening, in order to establish a Russian protectorate over Turkey. But Palmerston secured the co-operation of Austria—which did not want Russia to be mistress of the Balkan peninsula—and of Prussia, which always followed Austria's lead at this time. Leaving out France, he insisted that the other four Powers must act together and impose terms upon Mehemet Ali by means of the British fleet and the Russian army. But the British fleet cut the communications between Syria and Egypt before the Russians could come into play. Since France dared not resist in arms, she had to come into the agreement which followed. The British action forced Mehemet Ali to submit to terms which made him practically indepen-

The Eastern Question.

dent Pasha of Egypt, with the Sultan as merely nominal sovereign (1839). But it also destroyed the scheme of the Russian Tsar Nicholas (brother of Alexander I., who had died in 1825) for setting up a Russian protectorate over Turkey, and made the Porte look to Britain instead of Russia as the guardian of the 'integrity of the Turkish Empire.'

Another side of the Eastern Question was being dealt with at this time in India; but of this we shall read presently. The next phase comes when the Liberals and Palmerston were out of office, and the Foreign Minister was Aberdeen, who held the same views on non-intervention as his chiefs, Wellington and Peel. The Tsar Nicholas paid a visit to England in 1844. His idea was that Britain and Russia, instead of fighting each other over the Eastern Question, should come to terms for the partition of the Turkish Empire between them when the convenient moment should arrive; Britain to take Egypt and perhaps Syria, Russia to establish a protectorate over the rest. He left England under the mistaken impression that his proposal (which in fact had not been seriously considered) would in the long run be accepted, but that in any case no ministry of which Aberdeen was a member would fight Russia. Ten years later, that delusion had disastrous consequences.

Tsar Nicholas I.

In 1848 a sudden storm broke over Europe. During the last twenty years there had been repeated struggles between Constitutionalist and Absolutist claimants and occupants of the Spanish and Portuguese thrones; Belgium and Greece had acquired independence; Serbia had received a degree of autonomy or self-government; France had established her 'limited monarchy'; and both in France and in the United Kingdom the middle classes were predominant in Parliament. But nowhere else in Europe had either Constitutionalist or Nationalist movements met with any sort of success, while Poland, as the penalty of an insurrection, had lost even her nominal independence and been turned into a harshly-ruled province of Russia. Latterly Louis Philippe—whose government had lost popular respect—had been manœuvring to win back for the French Crown the powers which it had surrendered to the French Parliament.

3. Europe in 1847.

The thunderclap came from Paris. The 'February Revolution' of 1848 sent Louis Philippe in hasty and ignominious flight to England, as the 'July Revolution' of 1830 had sent his predecessor Charles X.

The second French Republic was set up, while England sheltered both the Bourbon and the Orleanist pretenders to the French throne, which neither was destined to recover. For France, disgusted with the feebleness of Louis Philippe's foreign policy, had learnt to look back with a longing enthusiasm to the great days of Napoleon, and almost in the hour of the Revolution there appeared in her midst the great emperor's nephew Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a strange combination of the idealist and the schemer, of craftiness and gullibility, of audacity and timidity, of elaborate designs and unconsidered impulses. Seizing the lucky moment, and appealing to the magic of his name, he succeeded in procuring his own election as the President of the new republic. As with his uncle in 1799, a *coup d'état* in December 1851 made him an autocrat, though nominally chief of a republic; and twelve months later a huge popular vote made him 'Napoleon III., Emperor of the French.' (The pretended Napoleon II., like the pretended Louis XVII., had been a boy when his father lost the crown, and never reigned.)

The Third French Revolution, 1848-52.

The February revolution gave France a republic instead of a monarchy for a brief and stormy period. It was the signal for insurrection—nationalist, constitutionalist, or republican—in very nearly every state in Europe except Russia, where the Tsar's iron hand was irresistible, though the most revolutionary of Englishmen as usual proved their confidence in constitutional agitation in preference to attempting armed subversion of the government.

Revolutions of 1848.

At the outset the governments were taken completely by surprise, and were generally smitten with panic. Metternich, the Austrian minister, the leader of 'the Reaction' at the Congress of Vienna, the dictator of Prussian as well as of Austrian policy for more than thirty years, the arch-enemy of 'the Revolution,' the champion everywhere and always of repression, had to flee for his life to England—then as always the universal asylum for political refugees of every kind, whether monarchist or revolutionary. Hungary rose, Bohemia rose, the South Slavs were on the verge of rising, to demand separate constitutions; Austria's Italian subjects rose under the leadership of the king of Sardinia, to demand separation from Austria, and the union of northern Italy either as a monarchy or as a confederation of republican or monarchical states. The king of the Sicilies and a crowd of German princes showered promises of constitutions, to be granted immediately.

The Austrian Empire.

THEN the governments recovered from their panic. Hostility between the Hungarian Magyars and South Slavs—many of whom the Magyars claimed as their subjects—won over the South Slavs to the government; Russia came to the aid of Austria, Hungary was crushed, and the nationalist champion Kossuth fled to England. The Austrian army in Italy out-generalled the king of Sardinia, Austrian regiments seized Prague, the Bohemian capital. In every part of the Austrian empire resistance was stamped out. The frightened princes everywhere took heart of grace, withdrew their promises, and cancelled the new constitutions, if they had actually granted them. The peoples were divided, not organised for rebellion, without military leaders, and without agreement in their political aims; the government troops were under soldiers who knew what they wanted to do, and did it, either when their political superiors set them free to act, or on their own responsibility without waiting for orders. Resistance collapsed after 1849, and everywhere the Reaction triumphed.

4. The Revolutions defeated, 1849.

Except that the French emperor, autocrat though he was, was autocrat by a popular election, raised to power by a revolution, occupant of a throne from which he might be turned out by another revolution—unless he succeeded in impressing the imagination of the French people as a worthy successor of his mighty uncle. He stood as the representative and champion not of historic dynasties and divine right, but of that popular idol of the French people who had publicly proclaimed that by making himself master of the State he had not destroyed but completed the work of the Revolution.

Napoleon III.

Throughout the period of the revolutions Palmerston, who had returned to the Foreign Office in 1846, had proclaimed British sympathy with the insurgents, after Canning's fashion, and addressed highly aggressive warnings and remonstrances to the various princes; he had even insisted on ordering the British fleet to the Dardanelles when Austria and Russia threatened to compel the Porte to surrender the Hungarian refugees who had escaped into Turkish territory. He himself forced the Greek government, with a high hand, to compensate British subjects residing in Greece for losses they had suffered, for which the Greek government was responsible. He had stirred the indignation and alarm of every government in Europe. And he spoke in the name of England, often without informing either his colleagues or the Queen of what he was doing. Hence he was com-

Palmerston.

pelled to resign at the end of 1851, and when he joined Aberdeen's cabinet a year later it was not as Foreign Minister but as Home Secretary.

II. The Reformed British Parliament: 1832-1841.

The Old and the New—Social Legislation—Old King and New Queen—Corn Law and Charter.

THE first eighteen months of Grey's ministry—the whole of 1831 and the first half of 1832—were occupied with the Reform of Parliament, as described at the close of the last chapter. The reformed House of Commons—but not the House of Lords, which was unchanged—was now representative mainly of the middle class of which the country gentry were only a small proportion. From this reform dates the beginning of the period during which Parliament has been perpetually concerned with the making of new laws; a change the reason of which is chiefly that the Industrial Revolution had so altered the conditions of life that customs which, with occasional modifications, had served their turn for century after century provided no solution for the host of new problems which had come into existence since the accession of George III.

1. New problems.

One class, endowed with wealth and leisure, freedom to devote its time and thought and energies to public affairs instead of to the struggle to earn its daily bread, had absorbed the business of government, necessarily regarding itself as the only class which could do so with benefit to the community at large; no other class had time or opportunity to understand or study anything beyond its own immediate interests, which were not necessarily those of the community at large, and might even in the long run be injurious to its own permanent interests. There was in fact a good deal of justification for this belief of the ruling class, which had been on the whole honestly anxious to seek the good of the community even against its own interests, though always inclined to take for granted that what favoured its own interests must necessarily be to the interest of the whole community.

The old ruling class.

But it had ceased to be the only class fit to be entrusted with the conduct of public affairs. The ruling class found itself compelled to concede political equality to the much more numerous middle classes, though these too were still convinced that the remaining classes were not yet fit to share that equality.

Now there were two conflicting principles which moved the middle classes. One was the economic doctrine that the way to create the greatest amount of material wealth, collectively, was to leave every man free to pursue wealth for himself in the manner he judged best, the law intervening to prevent only palpable dishonesty; the other was the moral doctrine that the weak who could not protect themselves must be protected by the law not only against dishonesty but against oppression—all should be given their chance by the law even though the total of wealth produced should be less. What legislation had to do was to adjust these two principles; to limit competition, for the protection of the weak, but to do it without checking the production of wealth. The economic doctrine, taken by itself, would make abject slaves of the majority of the people in the country; the moral doctrine, in the hands of sentimentalists, might very easily be applied in such a way as to do more harm than good to those whom it was intended to serve.

Economists and humanitarians.

Almost the first act of the reformed Parliament was the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire. A slave in the legal sense is anyone who in the eyes of the law is the property of an owner, like his horse or dog. In the British Isles there had been no slavery for centuries; towards the end of the eighteenth century it had been declared that a slave landing in England became a free man. But in the colonies the law recognised negro slavery—which continued in the United States—and most of the labour in the West Indies and in Cape Colony was done by negro slaves. The supply of slaves was maintained by the slave-trade with Africa. Rising public feeling against that infamous traffic made it illegal for Britons by an Act of Parliament in 1807; British influence at and after the Congress of Vienna induced other Powers to join in its suppression; but those who were slaves, and their children after them, continued slaves. Slaves were an important part of the property of West Indian planters and South African farmers. If they were deprived of the property which was legally theirs they would be ruined. But British public opinion had at last decided that slavery was utterly wrong. It must be abolished, but the slave-owners must have fair compensation. The nation provided the compensation (£20,000,000), and freed all slaves throughout the Empire by the great Act of 1833.

2. Slavery abolished.

Then came the first Factory Act. Employers, seeking to spend as little as possible on wages, employed a quantity of female labour and

child labour, with no limit to the hours of employment, while most of them spent little or nothing on making the working conditions even decently healthy. The better employers approved of legislation, because they wished to improve the conditions, but felt that if they did so for their own people their expenses would go up and their rivals would be able to undersell them. The Factory Act of 1833 forbade the employment of children under nine, and limited the hours of those under thirteen to forty-eight in the week, and under eighteen to sixty-nine in the week. It seems almost incredible now that anyone should ever have dreamt of working children for hours which an adult labourer to-day regards as excessive for himself. But a century ago it needed legislation (which many people regarded as short-sighted sentiment) to prevent them from being habitually exceeded.

Factory legislation.

Yet the working man looked with suspicion on the Act. It prevented his younger children from earning pennies, and the elder from earning as many pennies as they might have earned. Besides, the capitalist was (in his eyes) the working man's natural enemy, and the motive at the back of any capitalist legislation must be harmful to the working man.

It is no less startling to realise that in 1833 public money was first granted for Education. France under Napoleon had worked out a great system of state education; Scotland had a system which had been organised in the sixteenth century; England had no system at all. All the education, except of the well-to-do, who could afford to pay for schools and tutors, had been done by some religious societies supported by voluntary contributions. In 1833, all that the Government did was to make a grant of £20,000; trivial enough, but it was the beginning—the first hint on the part of an English Government that the training of future citizens is a matter deserving of some national attention.

Education.

In the next year came an Act, which was extremely unpopular because at the time it operated very harshly, but was very beneficial in the long run. This was the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act. We have seen how, during the war, the magistrates had started the practice of supplementing wages out of the rates in rural districts; so that it mattered nothing to the labourer whether his wages were high or low, as the balance was made up by the rates. He had no incentive to earn higher wages by doing better work, and he learned to consider that it was some one else's business to keep him from starving whether he worked or idled. The new Act stopped the giving of relief

The Poor Law.

to anyone who did not go to the workhouse, where he would get bare maintenance in return for work done. The farmer therefore was obliged to give all his men wages on which they could live; it paid him to give higher wages for better work; and it paid the labourer to give better work for higher wages. But families which had been kept going by out-door relief—relief without going to the workhouse—often remained on the brink of starvation rather than 'go on the parish,' that is, get admission to the workhouse, while for a long time wages were barely above the starvation level.

In 1835 Melbourne, who had succeeded Grey in the leadership of the Liberals and remained in office till 1841, passed the Municipal Corporations Act, which reformed the local government of the boroughs very much as the Reform Bill had reformed the House of Commons. The old corporations had fallen into the hands of small groups who kept the offices and the expenditure in their own hands. The Act gave a uniform government to all the boroughs—a council elected by the ratepayers, aldermen elected by the council, and a mayor at the head (holding office for one year) elected by the council and aldermen together. Thus the new corporation was really representative of the whole body of ratepayers in the borough. After this there was a lull in legislation.

Local Government.

In 1834-5 Peel and Wellington had been recalled to office for five months. The king had made up his mind that the Melbourne ministry had lost the confidence of the country. He dismissed Melbourne. Peel formed a Conservative cabinet, but a general election left his party unable to hold its own unless supported by one or other of the sections of the Opposition; Peel resigned, and Melbourne returned. The interest of the episode lies in the fact that it was the last occasion on which a monarch dismissed his ministers. From that time it has been the unbroken constitutional practice for ministers themselves to decide whether to retain office and carry on the government without change, to resign, or to retain office, but appeal to the country by holding a general election.

William IV.

George III. had obtained control over Parliament by the Crown, but only for a few years. George IV. and William IV. ruled constitutionally, making no attempt to override ministers. In 1837, William was succeeded by his niece Victoria, who reigned for sixty-four years—the longest reign in our history. Her accession ensured the perfecting of the British constitutional system in which the

Queen Victoria, 1837.

Crown acts only through and by the advice of ministers holding office, so long, and only so long, as they command the confidence—or at least the votes—of a majority in the House of Commons. The monarch may by character, tact, and wisdom exercise a valuable influence over the ministers, being himself—as no minister can be—wholly outside of party, and untouched by party interests; but it is only influence, not control; the influence of the Crown which is the symbol, and the prince who is the personal representative, of national unity.

A happy escape.

The admirable manner in which Victoria learned and discharged her extremely difficult task was largely due to her wise training by Lord Melbourne and the later guidance of the Prince Consort whom she married in 1840. Her accession was a singularly happy event. For the insanity of George III. in his last years and the scandals which attached to his sons—and to none more flagrantly than George IV.—had brought the Crown into public contempt. Respect for it revived under William IV., and was completely restored under Victoria. But had she died before her uncle his heir would have been his younger brother Cumberland, the one member of the Royal Family who was an unqualified reactionary of the same type as Charles X. of France. Fortunately he was left to display his qualities not in England but in Hanover, to the crown of which he, not his niece, succeeded on the death of William IV. Had he become king of England it is not unlikely that a revolution would have resulted, and not impossible that the monarchy would have perished.

Anti-Corn Law League.

The Liberal ministry strove to deal with the industrial problem by legislation; it proposed—though the proposal was defeated—to deal with the Dear Bread problem by imposing a fixed duty of 8s. on imported corn, in place of the sliding scale. But as yet it would have nothing to say to the agitation for the abolition of corn duties which was set on foot by the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838.

Chartism.

And meanwhile the depressed labouring classes found that trade unions, which they formed them, were unable to cope with the masters. They looked askance at capitalist legislation. The Anti-Corn Law League appeared to them to desire a reduction in the cost of living [illegible] that manufacturers might be able to reduce wages. The Reform Bill had given no political power to the working man; while they were convinced that only if he got political power would his grievances be remedied. And therefore certain of their leaders drew up 'The People's Charter'—from which they soon came

to be called 'Chartists'—demanding what were known as the Six Points: namely, Manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, secret voting by 'ballot,' annual instead of septennial Parliaments, abolition of the property qualification for members of Parliament, and payment of members.

But when a petition asking for the six points was brought before Parliament, the reformed House of Commons declined even to discuss it.

III. Peel and his Successors: 1841-1853.

Corn-Law Repeal—Free Trade—Improving Conditions.

MELBOURNE'S government lasted, insecurely enough, for five years. It was dull. It did not satisfy the Radical wing, which called for drastic reforms; it did not satisfy O'Connell's Irish followers. It fell in 1841, and a general election returned a Conservative majority—the last for more than thirty years—led by Peel. 1. Fall of Melbourne.

That great minister was bred in the old Tory tradition; he spent his life in first fighting and then adopting the doctrines which Toryism most detested, and in carrying as leader of the Conservatives reforms of which he had been the uncompromising opponent. In finance, since the introduction of the sliding scale, he became practically the champion of Huskisson's policy. In 1842 and 1845 a crowd of import and export duties were abolished or reduced. The fixed duty on foreign corn advocated by the Liberals was rejected, but the sliding scale was modified so that a charge of 20s. when the home price was 50s., was reduced as the price rose, and vanished when it reached 75s. But it was after the 1845 budget that the great conversion took place. Simultaneously the Conservative leader Peel and the Liberal leader Lord John Russell reached the conclusion hitherto shunned by both parties that a fixed duty on corn or a sliding scale could no longer be tolerated; every legal restriction which kept the price of bread higher than it would otherwise be must go, whatever the cost to the agricultural interest. This conclusion was forced upon them by a great famine in Ireland. Peel, 1841-6.

The commercial classes had already been converted to this view by the agitation of Richard Cobden and the Anti-Corn Law League; in fact, it favoured their interests, because the working man's needs would be met by a lower money wage if it cost him less to feed himself and his family. But the bulk of the supporters of the Conservative party were people who got Conservatives and the Corn Law.

their living out of agriculture. Unless the price of bread were artificially kept up to something like a war-time level, land would go out of cultivation, unemployment would increase, profits would vanish, and next time the country was at war nothing but supplies from abroad, which it might be difficult or impossible to obtain, could save it from starvation. There could, then, be little doubt in their minds that agricultural interests and national interests were one. To persuade the Conservative party that 'Protection'—the protection of agricultural interests at the expense of the community—must cease was wellnigh impossible.

Nevertheless, Peel convinced most of his cabinet that the thing was necessary. The old Duke of Wellington stood by him. One or two stalwarts broke away. The Protectionist opposition was led by a notable sportsman, Lord George Bentinck, and Benjamin Disraeli. Peel himself had resigned, on the ground that he had accepted office as an avowed Protectionist; but when the Liberals failed to form a ministry, he could with a clear conscience resume office as an avowed Free Trader. Moreover, apart from the Corn laws, he had been acting upon Free Trade principles in budget after budget, so that Disraeli had already denounced his Government as an 'organised hypocrisy,' putting into practice principles which it professed to condemn.

The battle of the Corn Laws, 1846.

The Protectionists fought hard, but they were in a hopeless minority in the Commons, where the Government proposals, abolishing the corn duties by stages spread over three years, were supported by Liberals and Radicals as well as by converted Conservatives. The battle raged from January to May (1846), when the Bill passed in the Commons. A month later it was carried in the Lords. But the Protectionists had their revenge on Peel, whose policy in Ireland was opposed by the Irish 'Repealers' and a section of the Liberals. The Protectionists did not object to the policy, but they saw their chance of defeating the Government. Peel resigned; the Liberal leaders had meanwhile reconciled their differences; and a Liberal ministry was formed under Lord John Russell. Peel and his followers declined to join the new Government, to which however the Peelites gave a general support, the defeated Protectionists forming the active Opposition.

The Corn Bill carried.

Break-up of the party.

SEVEN years later (1853), in the ministry formed under Aberdeen by the coalition of Liberals and Peelites, the Peelite Chancellor of the

Exchequer, William Ewart Gladstone, brought in what we may call the conclusive Free Trade Budget. For half a century from that time these principles were never seriously questioned by any party in England:—that duties were to be imposed not for the protection of any industry whatsoever, but exclusively for purposes of revenue; that if a duty were imposed on any class of goods, it should be the same whether the goods were produced at home, or imported from abroad or from British colonies; that as a general rule low duties were likely to produce a larger revenue than high duties; that as a general rule taxation of food-stuffs and raw materials was to be specially avoided—the former because such duties would increase the cost of living, the latter because they would increase the cost of production (that is, of manufacturing articles out of the taxed materials); and finally that, as all duties increase prices and therefore check demand for the goods, only those goods should be selected for taxation which would produce the largest revenue with the least diminution of trade.

2. The Victory of Free Trade.

Taxes in the form of duties on goods are 'indirect' taxes: that is, they really come out of the pocket not of the person who actually pays the tax, the dealer in that class of goods, but of the consumer, the person who uses the goods; because the dealer adds the amount of the tax to the price of the goods. When Peel in his first budget abolished a number of duties and lowered a great many more, he reckoned that in the long run the lower duties would bring in a bigger revenue. But for a time the revenue would be less. So for a time he imposed what was almost a new tax, a direct tax upon incomes, sevenpence in the pound on all incomes over £150. It was not quite new, because Pitt had adopted it as an emergency measure during the war, though it had been removed again when the war was over. When Peel renewed it, he thought of it only as an emergency tax, to tide over the time during which revenue would be reduced by the lowering of the indirect taxes. But it was kept on, still as an emergency tax, when more duties were lowered or abolished in 1845 and 1853. For half a century every Chancellor of the Exchequer talked of removing it—some day—till in the twentieth century it was [illegible] admitted that the tax was too useful to be dropped. At one time it was only fivepence in the pound, but the Great War of 1914-18 sent it up to six shillings.

The Income Tax.

THE twelve years from 1841 to 1853 saw the complete triumph of Free Trade; they saw too the active development of industrial legislation

for the prevention of the employment of women and young people under eighteen on work for which they were not physically fitted, under conditions dangerous to their health and welfare, or for excessive hours. The first Factory Act had only given to children and 'young persons' a very limited protection in 'textile' factories. The Mines Act (1842) stopped the employment of women and girls underground in mines altogether, and of boys under ten. A new Factory Act (Graham's) in 1844 extended to women in factories the protection already given to young persons, and limited the employment of children to half-time in a fifteen-hours day. Fielden's Factory Act in 1847 limited the working day for women and young persons to ten hours instead of twelve; and in 1853 the children's half-day was reduced to five hours. There was no legislation for the protection of men, but the effect of limiting the women's hours was that in practice the men's hours were also reduced. These changes met with stubborn resistance, partly on the ground that they were an interference with 'freedom of contract,' partly because it was argued that if hours were reduced while wages could not be lowered, the cost of production would be increased. But the answers were that there was no 'freedom of contract' to be interfered with, as women and young people could not bargain—they must take what they were offered or go without; while in actual practice it was found that the workers did more work and did it better in the shorter than in the longer time. In other words, it paid to reduce the hours, so long as the reduction was accompanied by an equivalent increase of energy in the worker.

3. Industrial Legislation.

Cheap bread, shorter working hours, healthier conditions for the women and children of the wage-earning classes, and increasing employment were the outcome of legislation. In the twenty years following the opening of the Liverpool–Manchester Railway the country was covered with a great network of railways, and trade was immensely increased by the improved facilities and cheapness of traffic on a big scale.

Improved conditions.

Meanwhile the Trade Union movement was gaining ground, especially in the trades which required skill and intelligence in the workmen. The engineers in particular were using their unions not merely as organisations to fight the masters but as benefit societies for their members, and, in a sense, as schools for their education. They were grasping the fact that to solve their problems of improving the wages and conditions of labour they must begin by understanding the nature of the problem to be solved. As a consequence, engineers',

Trade Unions.

miners', and builders' unions were becoming highly organised societies, with increasing funds at their disposal, alive to the fact that the law-breaking and violence to which some unions were still addicted were the worst possible means for gaining public sympathy and support. The public itself was beginning to look upon the movement with less suspicion and hostility.

Finally, Chartism perished, and by perishing removed the chief obstacle to the realisation of its demands. In 1842 the contemptuous rejection of a great Chartist petition was followed by outbreaks of rioting and violence, which confirmed the middle-class belief that the working men were red revolutionists, and must at all costs be prevented from obtaining political power. As a matter of fact the revolutionary element, though clamorous and loud-voiced, was small; only a minority of the avowed Chartists supported the 'Physical Force' section, who proclaimed that violence was the only remedy for grievances. The grievances were serious enough, but they were not of a kind which could be remedied either by government or by no-government, though they might be modified if the aggrieved classes had a voice in the government's councils. But fear of mob-violence was precisely what made governments close their ears to the voice of the Chartists.

Collapse of Revolution.

Then in 1848 came the February revolution in France, the fall of the Orleanist monarchy, wild scenes in Paris which recalled memories of the great Revolution; then insurrections all over Europe. Governments were everywhere tottering. The Chartist agitation was roused anew. Half a million Chartists would assemble in their might on Kennington Common near London; march to Westminster, and present the biggest petition on record, with five millions of signatures. If Parliament did not grant their just demands—something might happen.

Exit the Charter.

Nothing did happen. The Chartist leaders knew that their followers were not out for bloodshed. London was not sure, however, and thousands of 'special constables' were enrolled. A few troops were concealed along the proposed line of march, in case of accidents—the Chartist leaders having been informed that their meeting would be permitted, but not the march to Westminster. The weather was unpleasant. Between twenty thousand and thirty thousand persons instead of half a million assembled on Kennington Common; the monster petition was conveyed to Westminster in three hackney cabs, and everybody went quietly home.

Nothing more was heard of Chartism; but the whole absurd business proved conclusively that all the blood-curdling oratory had been empty froth. It became possible to consider whether after all the demands of the People's Charter were in themselves unreasonable. Less than twenty years later, the franchise was extended to the urban wage-earner, by a Conservative government with the aid of the Liberal party—a step in the direction of manhood suffrage; of the other five points three have since been conceded without qualification; while the glaring inequality of constituencies has been removed, though electoral districts have not been equalised. An annual general election is the only one of the six points which has not been achieved, in the spirit if not in the letter; and hardly anyone now believes that anyone would benefit by such a measure.

Five points adopted.

IV. Ireland and the Colonies: 1830-1853.

Ireland in the Thirties—In the Forties—The Colonies: South Africa—Canada—Australia—New Zealand.

CATHOLIC emancipation greatly reduced the political inequality between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, but did not—even when coupled with the Reform Bill—do away with it; for in Ireland as in England it was still only the comparatively well-to-do who had either the right to sit in Parliament or to vote. And the comparatively well-to-do were still mainly Protestant, while the great unrepresented mass was almost entirely Catholic. The majority of the Irish members still stood for the Protestant ascendency. O'Connell's followers in Parliament, his 'Tail,' were few in number; they could give trouble; but they could do no more except when, by combining with dissatisfied Radicals to vote with a Conservative opposition, they could defeat a Liberal government. That general rule held good with the small party O'Connell created in the British Parliament, until the third Reform Bill of 1884-5 gave that party a large majority of the Irish members. Consequently throughout that half century weak Liberal governments retained office by making concessions which, whether honestly justifiable or not, were always denounced by the opposition as immoral bargains.

1. Ireland.

O'Connell's own cure for Irish grievances was Repeal of the Union and the restoration of an independent Parliament in Dublin. 'Repeal' or 'Home Rule,' as it afterwards came to be called, was always the

avowed object which his party had in view; but no party in Great Britain would give it serious consideration. Meanwhile there were the other two standing grievances—the endowment of the Church of a small minority by 'tithes' levied on land and actually paid for the most part by Catholics, while the Roman Catholic Church was without endowment; and the helpless condition of the peasantry who were at the mercy of their landlords.

Repeal.

Almost everywhere the custom called rack-renting prevailed; that is, there were no long leases at a fixed rent which the cultivator could reasonably be expected to pay, and giving him security that if he made improvements on the land he would himself reap the benefit. On the contrary, there was nothing to prevent the landlord's agent from raising the rent if he saw any improvement in the land. Everywhere the rent demanded was excessive. But everywhere the tenant had to promise to pay it, or go—and there was nowhere to go, because in Ireland there were practically no other industries to turn to. So he promised, but very often did not, because he could not, pay. Then he was ejected, and took his revenge on the new tenant by houghing his cattle or threatening his life, and on the agent by shooting at him from behind a hedge. The sympathies of nearly all the peasantry were on the side of the evicted tenant; anyone who sided with the new tenant or the agent was likely to meet with the same sort of treatment; and when outrages were committed, witnesses would not give evidence, and juries would not convict. And all the time agitators were telling the peasantry that it was their duty to refuse payment of tithe or of high rents; and if they said, as they often did, that it was wrong and unwise to commit outrages, they usually added that it was still more wrong and contemptible to give evidence against people who committed them.

The peasantry.

Now the governments in the reformed Parliaments, whether Liberal or Conservative, were conscientious, anxious to be just, anxious to remedy hardships which could be avoided. But they were desperately afraid of doing anything which would interfere with 'freedom of contract'—first because the individual was supposed to have a 'right' to make the best bargain he could for himself; secondly, because any interference with that right was supposed to check the production of wealth. The doctrine stood equally in the way of legislation to protect the wage-earner in bargaining with his paymaster, or the tenant in bargaining with his landlord.

2. The English attitude.

Again, in England there were occasional outbursts of lawless oratory, but outbreaks of lawless action were rare; the ordinary safeguards of law and order were sufficient; there was hardly ever need for exceptional severity or for the suspension of customary liberties; but in Ireland, where the peasantry at least were in the habit of regarding the law and the agents of the law as their natural enemies, the law with only the ordinary safeguards was helpless.

Coercion and Conciliation.

So government after government doled out with one hand measures intended to remedy some injustice, and with the other imposed 'Coercion Acts' giving exceptional powers to the agents of the law, and suspending the personal liberties which in England every one enjoyed as a matter of course. The remedial measures conciliated no one, because they were regarded as having been wrung from the government by fear; the coercion was denounced as monstrous and intolerable tyranny; English Radicals joining in the denunciation, while most English Liberals only defended it when their own leaders could not preserve order in Ireland without it. Thus it was a Coercion Bill which brought about Peel's fall in 1846. The Protectionists had clamoured for it—most of them belonging to the most rigidly Tory section of the Conservatives—but when it was brought in, they joined its Liberal, Radical, and Irish opponents in voting against it. So the bill was defeated, and Peel resigned.

The Irish Church.

What made the tithe question so difficult was that most English Churchmen regarded the endowments of the Irish Church as its actual property, to rob it of which would be an act of sacrilege; while in the opposing view it was State property which might certainly be justly transferred to other religious bodies or to such purposes as education. The grievance was in appearance at least made less by the 'Commutation of Tithe' Act in 1848. The tithe was to be paid not by the tenant (usually a Catholic, who resented it) but by the landlord (usually a Protestant, who approved of it). As a matter of fact, the landlord generally got it back from the tenant by raising the rent. The tenant really paid it just as much as before; he paid it however not to the parson (who however was paid by the landlord) but to the landlord; so that his hostility to the landlord increased, while to the parson it diminished.

Peel in his turn set up what was known as the Devon Commission to examine the conditions under which land was held in Ireland—conditions which have been described above. But nothing was done, since freedom of contract must not be interfered with. Then came

a crisis in Irish history—the potato famine of 1845. The Irish peasantry lived mainly on the potatoes they grew. In 1845, potato disease fell on the potato crop and destroyed it. The Irish peasants starved, literally. Great numbers perished from sheer want of food. In the most ghastly manner, it was shown how very near destitution most of them had been living. It was the need of providing food somehow for Ireland that finally convinced Peel of the necessity for abolishing the Corn Laws. The landlords got no rents. With starvation, crimes of violence multiplied. The potato blight returned next year. Peel, and Russell after him, attempted to make matters better by relief-works, which failed of their purpose. The misery and destitution continued.

The Potato Famine, 1845-6.

O'Connell was dead; before his death he had lost his old leadership. He had always insisted on 'Constitutional Agitation,' not law-breaking, as the means by which Ireland should get her wrongs righted. A new group had been formed, calling itself 'Young Ireland' (as Italian patriots were calling themselves 'Young Italy'), which proclaimed its faith in armed rebellion. In 1848, the 'year of revolutions,' it tried rebellion, but the rebellion collapsed. Its leaders were captured and condemned to transportation, but all were released on 'ticket of leave' except two who refused.

Young Ireland.

Some sort of peace settled down on the exhausted country. The Encumbered Estates Act in 1849 enabled the impoverished landlords to sell their estates to new landlords, who were prepared to spend money on them as a matter of business, but between whom and the peasantry the old hostility became still more intense. But the potato famine had proved once for all that the soil of Ireland could not support her population. Vast numbers of the peasantry emigrated—chiefly to the United States, carrying with them into exile an intense hatred for England, the cause (as it seemed to them) of all their woes. In a few years the population of Ireland had sunk from eight millions to four, and there were four millions of Irish folk in America whose most fervent desire was to sever their native land from the British Empire.

Consequences.

DURING the five-and-twenty years which followed the introduction of the Reform Bill, representative institutions were established in all the greater British colonies, and most of them had attained to responsible government—government in which the executive was responsible to the elected chamber, and ministers held office only so long as they retained that chamber's confidence.

3. The Colonies.

This change however was not the prominent characteristic in the story of the Cape Colony. Representative institutions were indeed established, though not responsible government; but the distinctive feature of the period was the 'Great Trek,' the withdrawal of the greater part of the Dutch farming population across the Orange River, beyond which no settlement had hitherto been attempted. The Boers or Farmers went, in order to escape out of reach of the British, and set up independent republics on their own account. The British Government at the Cape did not interfere with their movements or assert active control over them; but it claimed that they did not cease to be British subjects by passing outside the existing British administrative area, and that if and when it chose to assert its authority over them, that authority was paramount and would be legally exercised.

Cape Colony, South Africa.

The Boers as we have seen resented the development of British customs and institutions where the old Dutch customs and institutions had hitherto prevailed. They saw the Dutch population in danger of being swamped by a new British population. They found themselves forbidden to treat the negro Kaffirs on their borders as they thought proper, forbidden what they considered the necessary resort to arms for their own protection. Then in 1834 came the emancipation of slaves throughout the British Empire, robbing them, as they thought, of their property, and giving them only a fraction of the compensation to which, in their own eyes, they were entitled.

So in 1836 they shook off the dust from their feet against the British and crossed the Orange River, as the Israelites passed over the Red Sea from the land of Egypt. Now, looking at the map of South Africa, the working boundaries of the Cape Colony were the Fish River (or the Kei River) on the east, and the Orange River on the north. Both rise in the Drakensberg Mountains, which run north. From the North Drakensberg flows the Vaal till it joins the Orange about half-way to the sea. The Dutch crossed into the territory surrounded by the Orange, the Drakensberg, and the Vaal, which later became the Orange Free State. Some of the most adventurous crossed the Vaal; their territory became known as the Transvaal. Others crossed the Drakensberg range, and had a desperate struggle with Dingan, the chief of the warlike Zulus, whose kinsmen the equally warlike Matabele retired across the Limpopo before the Boers in the Transvaal. Dingan was defeated; his successor Panda

The Great Trek.

came to terms with the Boers, who set up their own authority between the Drakensberg and the sea.

Then the British at the Cape intervened. Territory conquered by British subjects was British territory, and should be taken under British control. The Boers were too few to offer a prolonged resistance, but they would not remain under British rule and joined their brethren across the Vaal. The British established the colony of Natal as a dependency of the Cape, making arrangements with the neighbouring Kaffir tribes, Basutos and others. Then came a series of Kaffir wars, in the course of which the British asserted their authority over the Boers between the Vaal and the Orange; but in 1852 the British, by the Sand River Convention, formally conceded autonomy—while themselves retaining sovereignty—to the 'South African Republic' beyond the Vaal. Two years later a similar independence was granted, unasked, to the Orange Free State. In the previous year, 1853, the home Government had conferred upon the Cape Colony an elected Legislative Assembly, though the colonists were perfectly satisfied with the Governor and the nominated Council by whom they had hitherto been ruled.

Natal and the Free States.

In South Africa the colonists were not agitated by any constitutional problems; there was no popular demand for the 'representative' government which was bestowed on them by the British or Imperial Parliament in 1853, rather against their own wishes. The development of representative and then of responsible government throughout the colonies during this period was the outcome of an actual movement in Canada, coupled with the development in political ideas at home in the reformed Parliament.

4. Canada.

In each of the two Canadas the government in 1830 was in the hands of the Governor, his nominated Executive Council, and his nominated Legislative Council; while there was also an elective Assembly which had practically no power beyond that of voting taxes. In both there was a growing demand that the elective Assembly should become a legislative body, like the House of Commons in England. In Lower Canada this arose among the French majority; it would have given the real control of government to the French, who under the leadership of Papineau wished to sever the Province from the British Empire. For them representative government was merely a means to that end. In Upper Canada it arose among the emigrants from Great Britain, who demanded for-

Upper and Lower Canada.

themselves in Canada the rights which the middle classes in England won by the Reform Bill. In the Upper Province the Government resistance to the reforms demanded was much like Tory resistance to the Whig demands for reform; in the Lower, it was a British resistance to the threat of a French domination and separation from the Empire.

In 1837 Papineau raised a French rebellion in Lower Canada, and Mackenzie, the leader of the reformers, followed the example in Upper Canada. Both rebellions were extremely half-hearted, and collapsed after a skirmish or two. But they had shown the need for an inquiry, and some political reconstruction. In 1838 the Melbourne ministry sent out Lord Durham as High Commissioner to take over the government of both Provinces temporarily, and report on the whole situation. As Governor, Durham acted in a very arbitrary manner, as though there were no limits to his authority; though Canadian opinion approved his actions, he exceeded his legal powers. He was censured by the Government which had sent him out and resigned his position in disgust. But his Report was made the basis for reconstruction in 1840 by the Act of Reunion.

Revolt.

The vital points were two: First, separation into two Canadas, one mainly French, the other almost entirely British, was a failure. The two must again be united under a single government and a single legislature as a single nation, while each should have its own government for the management of the special affairs of the province—somewhat as in the United States there was a common National Government, while each State had its own State Government. Secondly, both in the Canadian Government and in the two Provinces the British model must be followed: the Legislatures must be Representative, and the Executive must be responsible to the Legislature.

The Durham Report.

The Act of Reunion established the Union Government, and the two Provincial Governments empowered to deal with the affairs of the two Provinces. It gave the representative Legislatures. But successive Governors still tried to keep the Executive under their own control till the arrival in 1847 of Lord Elgin, who at once adopted the British constitutional practice of making all appointments on the advice of ministers holding office so long as they commanded the confidence of the Legislature. By 1849 responsible government was definitely established in Canada, and at the same time or soon after in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

The Act of Reunion.

To Canadian history belongs also the settlement of boundary disputes with the United States by the Ashburton treaty of 1842, which gave to the States the eastern territories in dispute—much to the displeasure of the Canadians and New Brunswickers; and by the Oregon Boundary settlement in 1846 which fixed the dividing line from the Great Lakes westward to the Pacific Ocean. This settlement also was regarded in Canada as an unwarrantable surrender of Canadian interests by the Imperial Government.

Boundary Disputes.

Lastly, in connection with Canada, we may note that what remained of the Navigation Acts was finally abolished in 1849. The advance of Free Trade had already created something of a grievance by reducing to the same level the tariffs on all imported goods, from whatever land they came, whereas hitherto certain colonial goods had enjoyed a 'preference,' *i.e.* a lower tariff than foreign goods. Canada therefore called the more vigorously for the removal of the Navigation Acts, which forbade the carriage of colonial goods in foreign ships—to the benefit of British shippers.

Australia by 1830 was freeing itself from the convict taint; the convict stock in New South Wales was outnumbered by the free settlers, in spite of the new convict settlement at Brisbane; and the new colony of 'West Australia' had been started at Perth and Fremantle without any convicts. Though escaped convicts and reckless characters might take to a life of lawless brigandage as 'bush-rangers,' the prospect of settlement in Australia offered attractions to people who saw no chance for themselves in England. 'South Australia' started as another new colony in 1834—its centre was named Adelaide after William IV.'s queen; in 1835 a daughter settlement from New South Wales was rising in the south, where its capital was named Melbourne after the Prime Minister—later it was to become a separate colony, bearing the name of the queen, Victoria; as Brisbane still later was to be separated off as Queensland.

5. Australia.

The prospect was promising, if somewhat uncertain, because very large tracts of land could be obtained from the Government at a very low price, and between stock-breeding, sheep-rearing, and tillage where the soil was suitable, a decent if risky living could be made by hard work. There was no population of wage-labourers as in England, but convict labour could be obtained from the Government. And in practice, men could go up country, settle themselves, and claim big tracts of land as their own without buying it from the Government. They had no legal title to it which could be main-

The population.

tained in a law court, but no one would dispute the claim. People who occupied land in this way were called squatters; and in the long run the Government had practically to admit that the squatters had established a legal title by 'prescription,' that is, by having been for a long period in actual undisputed possession.

The Government.

For a long time the government of each colony was in the hands of a governor. Then the Governor was given a small nominated Legislative Council to advise him, and the council's authority grew. The population also grew, extending over a vast area. Then the Canadian troubles and the Durham Report awoke in the home Government the idea that as soon as a colony was fit to stand on its own feet it should learn to walk by itself. The experience of the eighteenth century had established the belief that colonies would in due time claim independence, but that was rather a reason for letting them learn the business of self-government. So in 1842 the home Government gave the Governor of New South Wales a new and much larger Legislative Council, partly nominated, but for the most part elected; with general control over finance and power to make laws, subject to the veto of the Governor, and of Parliament. In 1850, a similar constitution was bestowed upon Tasmania, South Australia, and Victoria.

The Gold-fields, 1851.

Now until this time the whole of the scanty white population of the Australian colonies was engaged entirely in breeding sheep or cattle, or growing corn. For everything else it was dependent on Europe for supplies; while the feeble black tribes wandered, as they had always wandered, from place to place. Between 1840 and 1850 'transportation' was practically abolished, and convict settlements had disappeared because they were intolerable to the free settlers. But in 1851 it was discovered that parts of Australia were rich gold-fields. There was a great rush to the gold-fields; not only of Australians, but of swarming gold-hunters from Europe. The population increased by leaps and bounds. A few who made lucky finds became suddenly rich; the majority did not. They were not, like the earlier free settlers, chiefly men who had gone out from farms in the old country to practise farming in a new country—but they had come to stay, because they found they had no choice; and they had to set about manufactures of their own—not on the British scale of course. Thus the character as well as the size of the population was much changed.

And by this time Canada had advanced from merely representative

to responsible government. It was time then that Australia too should have responsible government. How it was granted in 1854 will be told in the next chapter.

MEANWHILE another new colony had been started, in Australasia, but remote from Australia itself. The great islands to which Dutch voyagers had long ago given the name of New Zealand were inhabited by the Maori, a very different race from the Australian 'black-fellows,' who were themselves quite different from African negroes. The Maori civilisation was more advanced; they lived under an organised tribal system; they were physically vigorous, they were intelligent; though they had no written laws, they knew in practice the meaning of law and property. Casual visitors had been allowed to settle on the islands for purposes of trade. In 1839 a company was formed in England for the colonisation of New Zealand, and the Government was persuaded to proclaim the islands a part of the British dominion, attached to the government of New South Wales. 6. New Zealand.

New Zealand could only be annexed by armed conquest or by consent of the Maori. Conquest was not to be thought of—it would be morally inexcusable, and also expensive. But Captain Hobson, the Lieutenant-Governor, who was sent to take possession, obtained the consent of the Maori in the North Island, through their tribal chiefs, by the formal Treaty of Waitangi; which guaranteed to the tribes their proprietary rights in the soil (which was owned not by the chief of the tribe but by the tribe as a group), while the chiefs acknowledged the Queen as their sovereign. By the treaty, the tribe might part with land by selling it to the Government, but not to private persons, who could purchase or rent it only from the Government (1840). At the same time New Zealand was constituted a separate colony, not a province of New South Wales. Governor Hobson was given an Executive Council of three members enlarged to a Legislative Council of six by the addition of three members. The Treaty of Waitangi.

Then trouble arose, because the British settlers thought they could ride roughshod over the treaty and claim possession of land said to have been bought from the chiefs, who had no power to sell it. The Maori denied their claims; there were collisions between whites and natives. The acting Governor rightly took the side of the natives, and stood by the treaty; had he not done so, the few British would probably have been wiped out by a general Governor Hobson.

Maori rising. A new Governor proved less firm; but the situation was saved by the arrival in 1845 of George Grey, who had already shown his ability as the first Governor of South Australia.

The Maori in the North Island were already in arms against the British. Grey took matters in hand vigorously and fearlessly. He made it clear that the treaty was to be sternly maintained; he won the confidence of most of the chiefs. With their aid he suppressed the Maori insurrection. Fresh measures for the administration of justice in accordance with Maori custom won the confidence of the tribes. Illegal purchase of land by whites was severely punished. Well-meant orders from home provided New Zealand with a wholly unworkable constitution. Grey ignored the constitution, carried on the government on his own responsibility, convinced the home authorities that he had done rightly, and persuaded them in 1852 to provide a new constitution, practically of his own making.

Sir George Grey.

It divided the islands into districts, each of them with an elected 'provincial' government of its own, but all subordinate to the central government—the Governor, a nominated Legislative Council, and an elected Assembly, who together formed the 'General Assembly,' which had full authority to pass any legislation 'not repugnant to the laws of England.'

V. India: 1829-1855.

Bentinck's Reforms—The First Afghan War—Sindh, Gwalior, and Lahore—Dalhousie's Annexations.

The period of Lord William Bentinck's governor-generalship in India (1828-1835) was an era not of expanding dominion but of reforms in administration within the territories under direct British rule. There were no wars and no annexations; but measures were taken for the suppression of barbarous customs which had been practised for a thousand years, for improving the conditions of native life by public works (such as irrigation, that is, the spreading of water supplies by means of canals in a land where natural streams were few), for a more extensive employment of natives in subordinate branches of the public service; and especially for establishing a system of education which would bring within their reach the wisdom of the West rather than the learning of the East—from which great things were hoped.

1. Reforms, 1828-39.

Mohammedan rulers in the past had forbidden but had failed to suppress practices among the Hindus which were the outcome of their religious beliefs. When a Hindu died, his widow was expected to sacrifice herself on his funeral pyre. Originally this had been an act of pious self-dedication voluntarily performed from a religious motive; but it had become an act imposed on unwilling victims because it was their only way of escape from the misery of widowhood among Hindus. This practice, called 'Suttee' (*sati*, which means dedication), was forbidden by law in 1829. Suttee.

There existed also all over India the secret murder-societies of the Thugs, and brigand-societies called Dacoits, who were supposed to be under the protection of certain bloodthirsty Hindu deities or demons. The superstitious dread of these deities among the population made it extraordinarily difficult to procure any evidence, first, of the existence of the societies, and secondly, of the guilt of suspected criminals; until a series of successful detections and convictions established a belief that the deities at the back of the Government were stronger than those that protected Thugs and Dacoits. After that it was easier to obtain evidence; convictions multiplied; and in a few years Thuggee and Dacoity were completely suppressed. The offering of human sacrifices to propitiate the harvest goddess in Orissa was stopped about 1840 by the simple demonstration that the sacrifices, or the lack of them, made no difference to the harvest in actual fact. Another practice, infanticide—killing baby girls, because daughters were too expensive for a poor man—was gradually got rid of by regulations cutting down the ruinous cost of getting a daughter married (which every Hindu father felt bound to do if he had a daughter). Thugs and Dacoits.

The suppression of these customs (except in the case of Suttee, which was effected at one stroke) was gradual, and was not completed in Bentinck's time. In his day it would have been said that his greatest title to the gratitude both of the British and of the natives lay in the introduction of Western education. Later generations have been disposed on the contrary to regard it as a blunder, because the lessons of the West were misunderstood and distorted by Eastern minds. Education.

Under Bentinck's successor, Lord Auckland, there was a new and unfortunate period of military activity, not in India proper but beyond the north-west frontier in Afghanistan. It was the result of that fear of Russia's ambitions which during the same period was the leading motive of Palmerston's policy in the Near East, 2. Persia and Afghanistan.

as we have already seen. Persia, having made up her mind that the British would not protect her from Russia, had fallen wholly under Russian influences. In 1837 she invaded northern Afghanistan, and laid siege to Herat, to bring the province into subjection. The obvious intention was to secure Afghanistan, and go on to the invasion of India, calling upon Indian Mohammedans to join in the Holy War against the infidel English. When the conflagration was well started, Russia would turn it to her own advantage—that was the British idea of Russian policy.

The southern province of Afghanistan was ruled by the Wazir Dost Mohammed at Kabul. His family had turned out the previous ruler Shah Shuja, who, having taken refuge in British territory, had made some unsuccessful attempts to recover his throne. Lord Auckland's advisers, quite mistakenly, imagined that 'the Dost' was intriguing with Persia and Russia. So they resolved to secure a loyal ally at Kabul by restoring Shah Shuja, with very half-hearted help from Ranjit Singh, the independent lord of the Punjab. They were not deterred from this plan by the successful defence of Herat against the Persians, who retired in 1838.

So in 1839 British armies—mainly sepoys—marched into Afghanistan, defeated Dost Mohammed who was carried off to British territory, and restored Shah Shuja to the throne. But there was no chance of keeping him there, except by leaving British forces at Kabul and Kandahar, together with some political officers. The general placed in command at Kabul was old and incapable. At the end of 1841 the Afghans suddenly rose, murdered the political officers, and imposed their own terms on the old general. The British—white or Indian—numbering 15,000, would be allowed to depart through the passes. The march began, but only one out of the whole number reached the British fort on the border at Jellalabad. The rest perished.

The Afghan Disaster.

The garrisons at Kandahar and Jellalabad defied the Afghan attacks. A British column under Pollock was sent up to relieve Jellalabad and march on Kabul; Nott advanced from Kandahar; the Afghans were defeated; Shah Shuja was dead, and a new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, restored the extremely capable Dost Mohammed, who had always desired to be friends with the British, and proved an unfailingly loyal ally; while he thoroughly understood the difficult business of ruling the turbulent Afghan tribesmen. For thirty years to come, the British Governors-General recog-

Dost Mohammed.

nised the principle that direct interference in the affairs of Afghanistan would only rouse the fiercest hostility of every Afghan tribe.

3. Sindh.

The Kabul disaster—which was on a much bigger scale than any that had hitherto befallen—once more aroused hopes in India among those who were disaffected towards the British supremacy. In some quarters the hopes survived the victorious campaign which avenged it. Thrice in the next seven years the British were directly challenged by native Powers. But the campaign which annexed Sindh (the region of the lower Indus) to the British dominion in 1843 was not the outcome of a challenge. It was the one instance, in the history of British expansion in India, of deliberate and intentional British aggression. The country was under the rule of a group of chiefs known as the Amirs. British interests were in charge of a 'Resident,' Sir Charles Napier, a brilliant soldier. The populace were purposely provoked by Napier into making an attack on the Residency, thereby providing an excuse for a brief and brilliant campaign, the overthrow of the Amirs, and the annexation of Sindh. The change of rulers proved extremely beneficial to Sindh, but the method by which it was brought about was quite unjustifiable. It was, in Napier's own phrase, a 'beneficent piece of rascality.'

Gwalior.

At the end of the same year (1843) the Gwalior government and army (the reigning Sindhia was a child) defied the British authority, but were brought to submission by the short and sharp Maharajpur campaign, and a great part of Sindhia's army was disbanded, a British sepoy 'contingent' being established.

The Punjab.

Shortly afterwards came the two Sikh wars, with the Punjab. Ranjit Singh had built up the Punjab Sikh state, since the end of the last century. The basis of his power was the Sikh army called the Khalsa. The Sikhs were a great religious brotherhood which had discarded sundry Hindu doctrines—notably that of Caste—and adopted peculiar tenets of their own, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They had thus developed into a practically distinct race, precluded from marriage with other Hindus; and the religious brotherhood had, in self-defence, developed into a military community. The genius of Ranjit Singh had made them complete masters of the Punjab, and preserved their independence.

But, as always happens in the east, Ranjit's power depended on his personal ascendency, his character, and talents. When he died in 1839 there was no strong ruler, and the Sikh army gradually discovered

that it was master. The Kabul disaster helped it to forget what Ranjit had never forgotten—that though it was more than a match for any possible native army, it was sure to be beaten sooner or later if it challenged a direct conflict with the British.

First Sikh War.

At the end of 1845 the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej, invading territory which was British or under British protection. There was a very critical battle at Firozshah, from which the Sikh troops were withdrawn by their leaders without having really been defeated. Two months later (February 1846) the decisive battle was fought at Sobraon on the Sutlej. The Sikhs were routed after a fierce struggle, the British advanced on the capital, Lahore; and the Government which professed that the army had acted in defiance of orders, was restored under temporary British protection, and by the help of British officers.

Two years later (April 1848), at the moment when a new Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, had arrived in India, the Sikhs revolted. Some British officers were murdered. The Sikh Government had neither the will nor the power to suppress the revolt; the British had to undertake the business themselves. In the campaign which followed, the British again won a very doubtful victory after a hard fight at Chillianwalla (January 1849), and finally shattered the Khalsa at Gujerat (February). It had become clear that, though a strong government in the Punjab was a necessity, to construct a strong Sikh government was impossible. The only alternative was annexation. The Punjab became one more province in the British dominion. There was no independent State left in India between the mountains and the ocean.

4. Dalhousie; Second Sikh War.

The administration of the new province was at first placed in the hands of the two great brothers Henry and John Lawrence, but owing to disagreements between them, and between Henry and Dalhousie, Henry was withdrawn in 1852 and John was left in control, always under Dalhousie's own supervision.

In India the whole peninsula was now under either direct British rule, or under native 'protected' princes who recognised the British sovereignty; while a British 'Resident' or 'Agent' at the greater courts was able to make the influence of the 'Supreme Government' felt when necessary. But from Further India there came another challenge which compelled Dalhousie to declare war for the second time on Burma. The campaign was skilfully managed—the experience of the first Burmese war prevented a

Burma.

repetition of the mistakes which had then been made, and the second Burmese war ended with the annexation of Pegu or Lower Burma. The whole affair was carried through between January and December 1852.

Dalhousie alone amongst the series of Governors-General shared with his great predecessor Wellesley the belief that both for British and natives, it was advisable to substitute British for native administration wherever the thing could be done by strictly legal methods without injustice to the hereditary native rulers. Since the annexation of the Peshwa's territories in 1819 the only annexations had been those of Sindh and the Punjab. Dalhousie during his term of office found several opportunities provided by the legal doctrine of 'lapse.' As, in England, a dukedom, earldom or barony 'lapsed' to the crown when there was no legal heir to it, so an Indian throne lapsed to the sovereign when there was no legal heir. Indian custom habitually provided a legal heir by the practice of 'adoption'; a son formally adopted had all the rights of a son actually born to the father. But the adoption required the formal permission or sanction of the sovereign. If the sanction were not given, the estate (not the personal property, but the political authority) still, in law, lapsed to the sovereign. In practice the sanction had hardly ever been refused in the past; but it was refused on several occasions by Dalhousie, for what he regarded as sufficient reasons; and on the death of the reigning prince the principality passed into the British dominion. Of the dozen annexations of this class which took place under Dalhousie the most important were those of Nagpur or Berar (the Bhonsla's territory), Jhansi in the Ganges basin, and Sattara in the Maratha country.

Dalhousie.

The Doctrine of Lapse.

SUMMARIES

Acts of Parliament: 1832-1852.

Reform Bill. See p. 214.

Slavery Abolition Act, 1833, abolished slavery throughout the British Empire, while providing £20,000,000 to compensate slave owners.

Althorp's Factory Act, 1833, applied to 'textile' factories. Limited the employment of 'young persons' (13-18) to 12 hours per day and 69 hours per week; of children between 9 and 13 to 9 hours and 48 hours; and prohibited employment of children under 9.. It also appointed government inspectors.

Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834. Relief to be given only to inmates of the workhouse, permanent or temporary; and in the case of able-bodied persons, only in return for work done. The former parish workhouses were combined in unions.

Municipal Corporations Act, 1835, gave to nearly all boroughs a single or 'uniform' system of self-government, in place of the old government by corporations appointed under widely varying local regulations. Following the representative principle of the Reform Bill, the ratepayers and freemen of the borough elected a council every three years. The council elected aldermen, who held office for six years; council and aldermen together elected a mayor for one year; mayor, aldermen and councillors together formed the Town Council.

Mines Act, 1842, forbade employment of women, girls, or boys of less than ten on work underground.

Graham's Factory Act, 1844, forebade employment of children except for 'half-time,' and required that those who were employed should attend school for three hours a day.

Income Tax revived 1842: only used before in war-time; imposed a tax of 7d. in the pound on incomes above £150. The tax has been retained ever since, though the rate has varied from 4d. to 6s.

Sliding Scale revised 1842: imposed on foreign corn a duty of 20s. when the home price was 50s. or less; of 1s. when the home price was 70s. or more; between 50s. and 70s. the amount of the duty fell as the price rose, and rose as the price fell.

Corn Law Repeal, 1846, admitted all corn into the country, whencesoever it came, free of any duty.

Fielden's Factory Act, 1847, limited the hours of employment in factories for women as well as 'young persons' to ten per day.

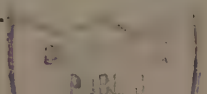
Chronology: 1832-1852.

1832. Reform Act. Grey ministry.
1833. Abolition of Slavery. First Factory Act. First Education grant.
1834. Poor-Law Amendment Act.
Ministry dismissed by the King for the last time.
1835. Melbourne ministry.
Municipal Corporations Act.
1836. *South Africa*: the Great Trek.
1837. QUEEN VICTORIA. Separation of the British and Hanoverian crowns.
Canada: Papineau's rebellion.
1838. The 'People's Charter' drawn up.

1838. Anti-Corn Law League.
Neutrality of Belgium guaranteed.
India: Shah Shuja restored at Kabul.
New Zealand annexed.
1840. British influence established at Constantinople.
Canada: Lord Durham's report. Act of Reunion.
1841. Peel ministry.
India: Kabul disaster.
1842. *India*: Afghan War.
China: Treaty of Nankin.
Mines Act.
New South Wales given Representative Government.
1845. *Ireland*: the Potato Famine.
1845-6. *India*: First Sikh War.
1846. Corn Law Repeal.
Russell's ministry.
1848. *France*: Fall of the Orleans Monarchy: the Second Republic
Europe: the 'year of Revolutions.'
Ireland: 'Young Ireland' insurrection.
Collapse of Chartism.
1848-9. *India*: Second Sikh War. Punjab annexed. Dalhousie Governor-General (1848-56).
1851. *France*: Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état.*
Australia: discovery of gold-fields.
1852. Derby-Disraeli ministry.
New Zealand given a 'Constitution.'
South Africa: Sand River Convention (Transvaal).
Aberdeen ministry formed (December).
France: Napoleon III. Emperor (December).

Ministries.

1832. Lord Grey. Palmerston Foreign Secretary.
1834. *July*: Lord Melbourne. Palmerston Foreign Secretary.
Dec.: Peel. Wellington Foreign Secretary.
1835. *April*: Melbourne. Palmerston Foreign Secretary.
1841. *Aug.*: Peel. Aberdeen Foreign Secretary.
1846. *July*: Russell. Palmerston Foreign Secretary.
1852. *Feb.*: Lord Derby. Disraeli Chancellor of Exchequer.
Dec.: Aberdeen. Coalition of Liberals and Peelites.
Palmerston Home Secretary.



NOTE

The Far East, and the Opium War.

Until the nineteenth century was well advanced there had been little intercourse between Europe and either China or Japan. Both those nations wished to have as little as possible to do with the western foreigners who could only reach them by long sea voyages. Japan even more than China kept her doors barred and bolted. But China had not been able wholly to shut out foreigners, and the Indian Government in the earlier nineteenth century was already drawing large profits from selling to China the opium which was produced in India, though there were few Chinese ports at which Europeans were allowed to trade. Out of this opium traffic arose the first collision (in 1839) between Britain and China, commonly known as the 'Opium' or 'First China' War. The Chinese provincial governors forbade the opium traffic, saying quite truly that it was injuring their people. But the British were firmly convinced that their real reasons were that British competition kept down the profits which the Mandarins expected to make out of growing and selling the noxious drug in China themselves—and also their wish to drive foreigners away altogether. It was a good deal like the old story of the Spaniards and British in the West Indies. The British had no right to force their trade on the Chinese; the Chinese had no right to employ the methods by which they tried to exclude the British; methods which provided the latter with a sufficient excuse for appealing to arms. When it came to fighting, the British were bound to win, and this 'Opium War' ended with the Treaty of Nankin (1842), by which the Chinese ceded the island of Hong-Kong to Britain, and undertook to open five 'treaty' ports to general commerce. The Chinese, however, were fully justified in their belief that the more dealings they had with the 'foreign devils,' the more certain it was that fresh quarrels would arise.

CHAPTER X

MIDDLE CLASS RULE (ii): 1853-1868.

I. Europe and America: 1853-1868.

Europe, 1853-56—Unification of Italy, 1856-66—
The American Civil War, 1861-65—Prussia and Austria, 1861-68.

In 1853 Napoleon III. in France had just transformed the 'Second Republic' into the 'Second Empire,' and was well aware that he could only retain the power he had won by preserving the 'Napoleonic tradition,' claiming for France the position of the leading Power in Europe, and at the same time persuading the French people that they enjoyed Liberty and Equality themselves, and were the acknowledged champions of Liberty and Equality for other peoples. 1. Europe: Napoleon.

In Germany the fourth Frederick William of Prussia, after encouraging the idea that he favoured constitutionalism and was ready to assume for Prussia instead of Austria the leadership of the Confederation of German States, had submitted completely to Austrian and Absolutist influences. The Hapsburgs of Austria still held the leadership in a divided Germany, and still ruled over their mixed empire of Austrian Germans, North Slavs, Magyars, South Slavs, and Italians in the North Italian provinces of Venetia and Lombardy. Germany and Austria.

The Italian peninsula was cut in two by the Papal States; the south formed the kingdom of Naples or the Sicilies; most of the north was divided between the Austrian provinces of Venetia and Lombardy, and Piedmont, which was a part—and the main part—of the kingdom of Sardinia, with Turin as its capital. There the young king, Victor Emmanuel, was determined to maintain a Constitutional, not an Absolutist, Government and dreamed of achieving the crown of a United Italy. This also was the dream of the minister Cavour, whom he had just called to the head of his Government. The Italy.

spirit of Nationalism and Freedom was alive and active in Italy, fostered by the heroic but not always practical idealism of Mazzini, and the fiery and fearless patriotism of Garibaldi. But Cavour was certain—and with reason enough—that the liberation of Italy could not be won without foreign support, and that foreign support would never be given to any movement in which Mazzini was regarded as the directing spirit. For in the eyes of all foreign governments Mazzini was a red revolutionist and an advocate of assassination. Active support from the Emperor of the French and moral support from Britain must be the objects held in view by Sardinian or Piedmontese policy.

Now a critical situation was arising in the Near East. The Tsar thought the time had come for taking control of Turkey. With Aberdeen at the head of the British Government Britain would not join in a partition of Turkey, but she would not interfere. On the other hand, the French Emperor had a rival claim to intervention in the troubles which were giving Nicholas his excuse for interfering in Turkey; and Nicholas underrated the force of British sentiment and the influence of the British Ambassador at Constantinople. The result was that in 1854 France and England declared war on Russia as allies; Cavour found excuse for joining them; and the Crimean War, of which more will be said presently, ended with the defeat of Russia in 1856.

The Near East.

CAVOUR had thus prepared the way for an effective alliance with France for the liberation of North Italy from Austrian domination. He succeeded in provoking Austria to march forces into Piedmont, which had been preparing for war; Napoleon, since Austria was the aggressor, came to his support (1859), and after victories at Magenta and Solferino made terms of peace which, in spite of Cavour's indignation, Victor Emmanuel was too prudent to refuse. In spite of Napoleon's promises, only Lombardy was transferred from Austria to Sardinia, and Sardinia had to give up Nice to France.

2. The Union of North Italy.

But the other duchies and Papal States which made up North Italy had expelled their rulers and made common cause with Piedmont. The Treaty of Villa Franca gave them back their rulers; but they took matters into their own hands, and for the most part united to offer themselves to the King of Sardinia. This voluntary action on their part could not be opposed, and in 1860 Victor Emmanuel held the first Parliament of the kingdom of North Italy.

The next stage in the liberation and unification of Italy was Garibaldi's romantic Sicilian adventure. The Sicilian islanders rose against the detested Bourbon monarchy. Garibaldi who had a genius for leading small forces, which were ready to follow him anywhere, slipped off to Sicily (while the Government at Turin closed its eyes) with a thousand red-shirted volunteers, as enthusiastic as himself. In an astonishing campaign the Government troops were vanquished. Garibaldi crossed the Strait of Messina to Italy, and advanced on what was practically a triumphal march upon Naples. It seemed likely that he would proclaim a Republic of the Two Sicilies, when Cavour intervened, to prevent, as he explained to Napoleon, an otherwise inevitable Republican triumph. Piedmontese troops crossed the papal territory, and Garibaldi meeting them with Victor Emmanuel at their head, greeted him as 'King of Italy,' and laid down the Dictatorship he had assumed. Victor Emmanuel was in fact king of all Italy except Rome, which remained under the Pope who was supported by French troops, and Venetia, which was still an Austrian province. The first Parliament of United Italy met at Turin in February 1861. Venetia was still to be added, in 1866, and Rome in 1870.

The United Kingdom of Italy.

From Europe we turn aside to the great American Civil War (1861-1865). That war was fought to decide not whether slavery should cease, but whether the United States were to remain one nation or to split into two nations, having antagonistic interests and pursuing antagonistic policies, a northern and a southern group: though that question was actually brought to a head largely by the diverse views held on the question of slavery by the slave-holding southern states and the northern states which had never had any use for slaves. But slavery was only one of the points which led the South to assert the right of Secession from the Union, and it was only during the course of the war that President Lincoln's proclamation of freedom for all slaves definitely decided that the victory of the North would mean the end of slavery.

3. The United States.

The big question had presented itself several times since the Union had been formed after the War of Independence. Was the Union a Confederation, a voluntary union between a number of states each of which had the right to withdraw itself, or was it a national act creating a Federal Union from which no section had a right to sever itself without the consent of the whole body? If it was a Federal Union, a majority of the

Federal Union or Confederation?

states could impose their will on the minority. If not, states which found their interests seriously endangered by the will of the majority could protect themselves by seceding from the Union and becoming independent of the Central Government. The North was industrial and desired 'Protection' for its industries from foreign competition. The South had no manufactures, and wanted to buy the cheaper European goods. The North had no use for slaves; in the South all the labour was slave-labour. The northern group, which outnumbered the southern, maintained the Federal doctrine; the South, which was outnumbered, maintained the Confederate doctrine. The election of President Lincoln in 1860 convinced the South that the Central Government would, in the interests of the North, override the interests of the South, especially by the gradual or possibly the immediate suppression of slavery which to the South would mean ruin. A group of the southern states proclaimed their secession from the Union, and set up a Confederate union with their own President, in February 1861. Lincoln replied in March by declaring that the Union must be maintained, and that secession was rebellion. The armed conflict began in April, and ended exactly four years later with the complete victory of the North.

The American Civil War. 1861-5.

Europe took no part in the struggle. The North, the Federals, had far greater resources than the South both in men and money, but only brought them into action by degrees; the South, the Confederates, threw every ounce of energy into the contest from the beginning, and for two years they fought successfully on land, generally against heavy odds. But their resources were failing because the North, stronger on the sea, was able to blockade their ports and cut off the exports and imports on which they were dependent. At the end of the second year the emancipation proclamation went far to deprive them of the negro labour which had kept their estates going. The southern armies dwindled because they could not make good their losses; the northern armies increased because their supply of men was comparatively unlimited; and in the fourth year the southern forces were gradually overwhelmed by the weight of numbers. In April 1865 their last fighting force in the field was compelled to surrender. The cause of American unity was won, and with its victory slavery was obliterated.

MEANWHILE in Europe a new movement was on foot. In 1861 Frederick William IV. was succeeded on the Prussian throne by his

brother William I., who was already past sixty. He was not a man of remarkable ability himself, but in 1862 he took for his minister Otto von Bismarck, who ruled Prussia till after the old king's death in 1888. It was Bismarck's policy, first, to make Prussia the leading state in Germany, and then by uniting Germany under Prussian leadership to make her the dominant Power in Europe. With these aims in view the means were: first to make himself actually though not formally the dictator of Prussian policy; next, to raise the Prussian army to the highest pitch of efficiency; next, to drive Austria out of the German Confederation, leaving Prussia without a rival in it; and, finally, to overthrow France, who would by no means permit Germany to become a single consolidated nation if she could prevent it.

4. Bismarck, 1862.

Bismarck was called to office at a critical moment when it seemed probable that the forces of constitutionalism would prove too strong for the Crown By arbitrary exertion of power he defeated the Constitutionalists and established the unqualified supremacy of the Crown. From that moment William trusted him absolutely. The King was no less bent than the minister on making the army irresistible; its reorganisation was entrusted to two men of genius, Moltke and Albrecht von Roon. The ejection of Austria from her ascendency in the German Confederation required craft in the first place, and force in the second, when the moment should arrive when Prussia could strike with the certainty of success, and could also proclaim to the world that the act of aggression had been not Prussia's but Austria's.

In 1863 the question arose whether the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein belonged to the King of Denmark or to the German Confederation. Bismarck so managed matters that Austria and Prussia jointly by force of arms took possession of the duchies on behalf of the Confederation. Three years later he picked a quarrel with Austria—arising out of the administration of the duchies. He had first secured the active support of Italy by promising her Venetia, and the neutrality of Napoleon by tricking him into the belief that France, as the result of war between Austria and Prussia, would get for herself certain provinces on the Rhine. Then in picking his quarrel he made it appear that Austria was breaking the laws of the German Confederation while Prussia was acting as champion of the law; and in the 'seven weeks' war' (1866), Prussian troops crushed the resistance of the princes who supported Austria, and the Prussian main army shattered the Austrian main army at Sadowa. An Austrian victory over the Italians at Custozza made no difference to the result.

Prussia and Austria.

Austria had to cede Venetia to the Italian kingdom, and to retire from the German Confederation; while Prussia herself annexed Hanover—which had at first resisted her—and organised a new North German Confederation, practically under Prussian control. To this the South German states were attached, one after another, by their commercial interests, which suffered so long as they remained outside it. France found that she had been tricked, but was powerless. The battle with her was postponed till it should suit Bismarck to fight—and his opportunity did not come till 1870.

Prussian Ascendency.

II. Britain and the Foreign Powers: 1853-1868.

The Eastern Question—The Crimean War—Foreign Policy, 1857-68.

In 1853 Lord Aberdeen, who had been Peel's foreign minister, was at the head of a Coalition Government of Peelites and Liberals. Palmerston was in the Cabinet, but, for the first time, not at the foreign office. A great tide of commercial prosperity had set in which was generally regarded as due chiefly to the development of Free Trade. It was the firm belief of Richard Cobden, the man whose arguments had finally converted Peel on the Corn-Law question, that free trading between the nations would so establish international goodwill that there would be no more wars. And although Aberdeen had rejected the Tsar's suggestion for a partition of the Turkish Empire between Britain and Russia, Nicholas was comfortably convinced that he would be able to establish his own supremacy over Turkey without British interference.

1. The Aberdeen Ministry.

But France too had interests in the Near East. The Orleans monarchy had fallen partly because it had failed to take a leading part in European questions. Napoleon was aware that unless he asserted France's position very emphatically the Second Empire would go the way of the Orleans monarchy. The excuse of the Tsar for making demands which would practically have made Turkey the vassal of Russia was, that it was Russia's right to protect Turkey's Christian subjects, who for the most part belonged to the Greek Church. But the 'Latin' or Roman Catholic Christians had their own quarrel with the 'Greek' or 'Orthodox' Christians, who, if Russian influences were supreme, would secure for themselves privileges to which the Latins regarded themselves as entitled. Napoleon claimed that France was the guardian of the interests of the

The Eastern Question.

Latin Christians. Without French and British support Turkey would have no chance of resisting Russia; but the British ambassador at Constantinople, Stratford de Redclyffe, convinced the Porte that British support would be given. The British Cabinet believed that Russia would give way to the united opposition of France and Britain to her designs, without war. If the Tsar had believed that Britain would fight he would probably have yielded. If the Porte had believed that Britain would *not* fight, the Porte would have yielded. As matters stood, the Porte refused to submit; Russian troops entered the provinces on the north of the Danube—Wallachia and Moldavia, which now form Rumania—and Russian ships sank the Turkish fleet in the Black Sea harbour of Sinope.

Thereupon France and Britain, in alliance, declared war on Russia early in 1854, to preserve the 'integrity of the Turkish Empire.' The immediate demand, supported by Austria, was that Russia should retire from the Trans-Danube provinces. Though Austria did not declare war, the failure of the Russians to capture Silistria on the Danube, the actual intervention of Britain and France, and the threat of Austrian intervention, together induced the Russians to retire at midsummer. This would have satisfied some of Aberdeen's Cabinet. But the war-party, backed by public opinion in the country, was now the stronger section in the ministry; Napoleon was not satisfied; Russia had given the opportunity for forcing a decisive settlement instead of a temporary compromise; and the French and British Governments, refusing the Russian terms, resolved to invade the Crimean peninsula, seize Sevastopol, and practically end the existence of the Russian Black Sea fleet. The landing of French and British troops in the Crimea in September 1854 was the beginning of the Crimean War.

War declared, 1854.

It is possible that it was the honest desire of Tsar Nicholas to end for ever by a real compact of goodwill the rivalry between the British and Russian Empires in the east by a permanent partition, somewhat in the fashion of the partition of North America between the United States and the British. But such a compact could only have been successful if each nation had been thoroughly determined to trust the other completely and to prove unmistakably that she herself deserved to be trusted. There was no possibility of Britain giving such trust to Russia at any time in the nineteenth century. If Russia had designs upon India, Russia in practical possession of Constantinople, with a big fleet in the Mediterranean, was a menace

The Reason.

to the British Empire which could not be permitted. Yet that was precisely what the Tsar's scheme of partition would have ensured. The only way to keep Russia out of Constantinople was to keep the Turk in it, practically secure of British protection. A more skilful diplomacy might have kept Russia out—as it did afterwards—without war. But diplomacy failed, and the Crimean War was the alternative. It allayed the peril for the time, but only to revive in full force twenty years later.

2. The Crimean War, 1854-6.

In its earlier stages the war was amazingly ill-managed. The allied forces advanced on Sevastopol, defeating the Russian field army at the battle of the Alma. Sevastopol, a great naval and military arsenal, was strongly garrisoned, and its defences—weak at first—were organised with extraordinary skill by the great engineer Todleben. The Russian field army retired inland (after the Alma), whither there was no use in trying to pursue it; while it was able to maintain its communications with the fortress, which the French and British were not in sufficient force to invest completely. The British, holding the right of the allied line, were constantly open to attack by the Russian field army. Their supplies were carried up to them from the port of Balaclava. A Russian attempt to cut the communications between the port and the siege lines was frustrated at the battle of Balaclava, mainly by the magnificent charge of Scarlett's Heavy Brigade of Cavalry, though the glorious but useless charge of the immortal Light Brigade was a feat of daring not less wonderful and more famous.

Balaclava.

Eleven days later (5th November) the Russians came down in force, under cover of a heavy fog, on the British lines, but were completely repulsed, in spite of immensely superior numbers, by sheer hard fighting—the men forming in clumps, as best they could, because no one could see what was going on. This was the famous 'soldiers' battle' of Inkerman, after which no further attempts were made to storm the British lines.

Inkerman.

But a worse enemy than the Russians fell upon the besiegers—the fearful Crimean winter, following upon a tremendous storm which destroyed the ships bringing winter supplies, in the harbour of Balaclava. Through the winter the men displayed a magnificent courage and endurance under unspeakable sufferings. Public indignation rose so high that early in 1855 Aberdeen's ministry resigned, and Palmerston, in whom alone the public felt real confidence, was called to head a new Government. A new vigour was

Palmerston Premier, 1855.

at once seen in the conduct of affairs—though the new Prime Minister was seventy-one. The allies were reinforced by the Italian troops sent to join them by Cavour. The other Powers were uniting to press Russia to agree that she should withdraw her claim to act alone, and that the Powers jointly should obtain from Turkey guarantees for the security of her Christian subjects. Nicholas died, and was succeeded by his son Alexander II. But the peace negotiations broke down. In September Sevastopol fell, the French having struck the successful blow which compelled its evacuation. Negotiations were renewed, and in March 1856 the Treaty of Paris was signed by seven Powers—Russia, France, Britain, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, and Turkey.

By the treaty, the Porte promised to remedy the grievances of its Christian subjects, while the other Powers promised not to interfere. They also undertook that none would take separate action. Russia resigned her protectorate over the Trans-Danube provinces which not long afterwards were united in the Principality of Rumania, under a kinsman of the king of Prussia, still remaining within the Turkish Empire. Russia had to submit to the neutralisation of the Black Sea; it was to be open to commerce, but there were to be no warships on its waters. There was a farther agreement called the Declaration of Paris, modifying the British claims to the right of search, but in some other respects accepting new rules of naval warfare which Britain had for a long time advocated.

The Treaty of Paris, 1856.

There remains one feature of the Crimean War which must not be passed over. Hitherto in all wars, hospitals and the tendance of the sick and wounded had received little attention. This terrible neglect was ended by the courage and zeal of Florence Nightingale, who, in the face of tremendous difficulties, took out a band of trained nurses to the base hospital at Scutari, saved countless lives and untold sufferings, and first set the noble example which has been nobly followed ever since.

Florence Nightingale.

EXCEPT for a short interval in 1858-9, Palmerston remained at the head of the Government till his death, at the age of eighty-one, in 1865. The policy followed was his policy, but actually the Foreign Minister most of the time was Russell, his rival in the leadership of the Liberal party. His brief fall from power was due to a rather odd belief that his Government had allowed itself to be brow-beaten by French bluster, in introducing the 'Conspiracy to Murder Bill'; the object of which was to prevent foreign conspirators

3. 'Pam.'

from using England as a safe asylum where they could hatch their plots. An attempt was made in 1857 to kill Napoleon with a bomb; French indignation exploded; the British were excited by the language used; but there was real ground for complaint. Hence the Bill, and a combination among its various opponents who succeeded in defeating it. The ministry resigned, and its place was taken by a Conservative administration led by Lord Derby and Benjamin Disraeli, which lasted less than eighteen months

Otherwise, the foreign interest in the later 'fifties' centred in Asia. The short Persian War and the Indian Mutiny will be dealt with elsewhere. There was also a second Chinese War. In 1856 a ship (the *Arrow*) with a Chinese crew, but flying the British flag, was seized on a charge of piracy by the Chinese authorities. The British consul on the spot demanded that the crew should be handed over to the British to deal with. The Chinese governor refused; the quarrel took the form of an attack not only on the British, whose conduct had been at best extremely provocative, but on Europeans in general. In 1857-8 the British and French captured Canton, advanced on Peking, and forced the Treaty of Tien-tsin on the Chinese Government. But the terms of the treaty were not carried out. In 1859 China was openly defiant; and in 1860 the British and French again forced their way to Peking, captured it, and compelled the Chinese to confirm the previous treaty and also to pay a large sum as compensation.

The China War, 1856-60.

In 1859, however, a series of dramatic wars began with the second war of Italian liberation. British sympathies were extremely obvious, and Palmerston, after Canning's fashion, while refusing to intervene, made it clear that intervention from any other quarter would not be permitted. His attitude secured the Italians from the hostile action which might otherwise have been taken by Napoleon or by Prussia when first the northern duchies and then the Sicilies attached themselves to the new kingdom of Italy. Russell's protests, however, proved entirely ineffective when Russia crushed a Polish insurrection in very barbarous fashion (1863), and again when the Austrian and Prussian armies overwhelmed the resistance of Denmark (1864), and forced her to surrender to their keeping the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein—which in fact were a good deal more German than Danish. In 1866, when Palmerston was dead, Britain stood entirely aside from the Austro-Prussian War—when Prussia's annexation of Hanover drove to England many indignant

Aggressive Neutrality.

Hanoverians, who for the most part were always much more British than Prussian in their sympathies.

So also the Government declined to take a side officially in the American Civil War. The mass of British public opinion, looking upon it as a war waged by the North for the abolition of slavery, was strongly in favour of the North; another very strong body of opinion, however, regarded it as a battle fought by the South precisely for those principles of political liberty and rights of self-government which had justified the secession of the thirteen colonies from the British Empire. But both sides supported in the main the Government view that the quarrel was a domestic quarrel on the rights or wrongs of which no external Power was justified in taking action. North and South were each equally convinced that they were fighting in a sacred cause which it was Britain's obvious duty to support. Unfortunately, by a carelessness which looked intentional, British cruisers were allowed to leave British ports and pass over to the Confederates, while the arbitrary seizure of two Confederate commissioners on a British ship, the *Trent*, almost compelled a declaration of war against the Federal Government. Nor was the North conciliated by the splendid manner in which the cotton operatives in the North of England endured the 'cotton famine' (caused by the Federal blockade of the Confederate ports), out of sympathy for the anti-slavery cause. The total result was to embitter American sentiment against the British.

Britain and the United States.

III. Domestic Affairs: 1853-1868.

Domestic Calm—Marking Time—A democratic Reform Act.

Between 1853 and 1859 the two leading episodes in British history were the Russian War (1854-6) and the great Indian Mutiny (1857-8). The Gladstone Budget of 1853 had marked the practically universal acceptance in England of the economic doctrine of Free Trade. The country was enjoying great prosperity. All the old uneasy fears of an attempted working-class revolution had dissolved after the ignominious collapse of revolutionary chartism; with the development of trade, the supply of labour no longer greatly exceeded the demand; factory legislation on the one hand, and intelligent control of the leading trade unions on the other, were doing much to improve the condition of the labouring classes generally.

1. An Era of Prosperity.

Ministries changed, but not on great questions of principle. The Aberdeen Government fell, chiefly because the supplies for the Crimea were mismanaged. Palmerston came into power, and was turned out after three years because there was a popular outcry against the 'Conspiracy to Murder Bill' (February 1858); but though the Conservatives took office under the leadership of Derby and Disraeli, they only remained on sufferance—until the Opposition should choose to turn them out, as it did in less than eighteen months (June 1859). Palmerston again became Prime Minister, and retained the position till his death in 1865.

Parties.

The short-lived Conservative Government could not attempt a return to the discredited policy of Protection. It was immediately confronted by the problem with which Palmerston was on the point of dealing when the Conspiracy Bill was defeated. This was the question of providing a new system of government for British India, since the Mutiny had made it evident that the old system could no longer be relied on.

Second Derby Ministry, 1858-9.

The India Bill was framed not as a party measure, but as an 'agreed' measure. That is, a series of 'resolutions' was brought forward to be discussed and amended or adopted, as the majority in the House of Commons judged best—however the majority might be made up. The resolutions showed what the House wanted; then the Government framed its Bill in accordance with the resolutions, and the House passed it. In the ordinary way the Government frames its Bill expressing its own views, and offers it to the House to accept: if the majority rejects any important proposal, the Government resigns. Here the Government waited to make its proposals till it knew what the majority of the House would approve.

The other feature of this administration was Disraeli's introduction of a new Reform Bill. When the 'Great' Reform Bill of 1832 was carried, Whigs and Tories alike were satisfied that enough had been done. The middle classes were fit to take their share in the government, and the Bill gave it to them. The manual labourers were not fit, in the eyes of any one except 'dangerous Radicals.' Democracy—government in which the whole people has its share, and the vote of an artisan or a navvy counts for neither more nor less than the vote of a squire or a banker—was not to be thought of. And the clamours of Chartist agitators in the thirties and forties only convinced people the more that any farther extension of the franchise would lead to what a poet has called 'Red ruin and the breaking up of

A New Reform Bill.

laws.' But twenty years after the Great Reform Bill Chartism was dead, and the idea that the average British artisan was thirsting for the blood of aristocrats hardly survived. It was difficult to give a decent reason why a skilled mechanic should be shut out from the political rights enjoyed by a small shopkeeper. There was not a violent demand anywhere for franchise extension, but there was a growing inclination to think that the time for a limited extension was coming near.

To the ordinary Conservative of the old type any approach to democracy was still very alarming. But Disraeli had made himself the leader of the party by sheer cleverness and debating power, and for him democracy had no terrors. The strength of his party lay among country gentlemen and farmers; that of the Liberals lay among manufacturers and merchants; the town artisan, skilfully treated, would be much more inclined to ally himself with the former than the latter; a judicious extension of the franchise would probably strengthen the Conservative party—if the Conservatives could only see it.

The Bill defeated.

So under his leadership the Bill was brought in. It was to extend the franchise, which would please the Radicals. It was also to give extra votes to the propertied classes, which would please the Conservatives. But what pleased the Radicals frightened the Conservatives, what pleased the Conservatives was denounced by the Radicals, the Bill was defeated, and Palmerston returned to power.

PALMERSTON had no craving for parliamentary reform; the country liked his leadership; so the whole question was put aside while he lived. Britain, as we have seen, kept the ring and prevented intervention while Victor Emmanuel was turning Italy into a single constitutional monarchy. With some difficulty she avoided taking part in the American War, while she failed to prevent the separation of Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark, or to restrain Russia in Poland. But in domestic affairs there was little active movement. Gladstone's budgets and a commercial treaty with France in 1860 reduced duties on imports to the lowest possible point, with general approval. There was an Education Act in 1862 extending and regulating the Government grants to the 'national schools,' which otherwise were still supported only by voluntary contributions and the small fees paid by parents. But there was also an incident of 1860-1 which must be noted, because it was significant of the

2. Palmerston returns, 1859.

changed relations which had arisen between the House of Lords and the House of Commons since the passing of the Great Reform Bill.

Lords and Commons.

For nearly thirty years the majority of the Lords, like the majority of landowners, had been opposed to Liberal or Peelite legislation. But Wellington had laid down a principle which could not be questioned—'the Queen's Government must be carried on'; no ministry *could* carry it on unless supported by a majority in the Commons, or *would* carry it on if it could not pass its measures through the House of Lords. Broadly speaking, if the majority in the Lords and the majority in the Commons were opposed to each other, the Lords would have to give way. Led by Wellington they had given way repeatedly; but they might hold out on a question which was not important enough to make the Government resign if it were defeated, or on one in which they could reckon that the Government would be defeated at the polls if a General Election were held. So in 1860 they did what they had a perfect legal right to do, though they had never done it for more than a century and a half; they rejected a Money Bill which had been passed, though only by a small majority, in the Commons, a Bill to abolish the profitable tax on Paper.

The Paper Bill, 1860-1.

Now no one denied the Lords' right to reject any sort of Bill, if they thought fit to do so; but no one claimed for them the right to alter or amend a Money Bill—they must accept it or reject it as it stood. In the eighteenth century the Commons had even at one time been in the habit of 'tacking' some other measure on to a Money Bill, so that the Lords might have no chance of amending it. Practically the Commons claimed that the Lords really had no business to touch the Government's financial measures. Yet they had acted within their legal rights. So in the next year Gladstone, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought in all his financial measures—including abolition of the Paper duties—in a single Bill, so that the Lords were obliged either to accept or reject the whole 'Budget' (as the Finance Bill has been called ever since) as it stood. Until 1909 the Lords did not again challenge any Government on its financial measures.

3. A Liberal Reform Bill, 1866.

A NEW House of Commons with a strong Liberal majority had been returned a few months before Palmerston died, in his eighty-first year, at the end of 1865. That party retained office under the leadership of old Earl Russell, the 'Johnny Russell' of earlier days, who had been raised to the peerage, and of Gladstone in the Commons. Both had become strong supporters of

the franchise extension, which most people felt to be necessary but risky, and had not been sorry to shelve till Palmerston's death. A new Reform Bill was brought in in 1866; but the question roused no excitement in the country and very little enthusiasm in Parliament. There was a split among the Liberals, some of whom objected to giving the vote to any one who was not a ratepayer. This group became known as the 'Adullamites' or the 'Cave' (because in the Bible story, David, when he was outlawed by King Saul, gathered round him a band of discontented persons at the Cave of Adullam). Since that time, groups of this kind have generally been called 'Caves.' This cave joined with the Conservatives to defeat the Bill. The Government resigned, and once more the Conservatives, though actually in a minority, formed a ministry under Derby and Disraeli.

The defeat of the Bill caused unexpected excitement and riots. The new Government thought it would be dangerous to resist the demand for reform, and resolved, in Lord Derby's phrase, to 'Dish the Whigs' by a bigger extension of the franchise than a Liberal Government could have agreed upon; reckoning thereby to gain for the Conservative party the support of the newly enfranchised electors. But no Bill, no clause of a Bill even, could be carried if the Liberals combined to oppose it. When Disraeli framed his Bill some of the other ministers resigned, because it went too far for their ideas. The only course left was to frame a Bill for which Disraeli could secure the support of most of his own party and also most of the Liberals, or at any rate to accept on behalf of the Government amendments urged by the Liberal leaders. Consequently the Second Reform Act, passed in 1867, was the work of Liberals no less than Conservatives, and the next General Election showed that the Whigs had not been 'dished' after all; though the country felt—to use another phrase of the time—that it had taken a 'leap in the dark.'

Third Derby Ministry, 1866-8.

The measure in fact was a very long stride in the direction of Democracy. It gave the vote to the bulk of the artisan class, the moderately skilled labourers, in the towns. Hitherto they had had no voice in the election of members to Parliament; now at one stroke they had become a majority of the electorate, the whole body of electors. Every householder, and every 'ten-pound lodger'—that is, every one occupying lodgings for which he paid £10 a year—in the boroughs became a voter. A few old constituencies were abolished as being too small, while others were allowed

The Second Reform Act, 1867.

to return only one member instead of two: on the other hand, additional members were given to great boroughs and counties. Thus, besides the extension of the franchise, something was done towards equalising the constituencies. But no change was made in the qualification for voting in the 'rural constituencies,' the counties. Neither the agricultural labourer nor the unskilled labourer was as yet able to vote.

Derby's retirement in 1868 made Disraeli Prime Minister. Debates caused by the state of affairs in Ireland brought about a serious Government defeat in the summer. The dissolution of Parliament was postponed till the late autumn, to give time for the newly enfranchised electors to be registered on the list of voters so that they could exercise the vote; but though they had been enfranchised by a Conservative Government, they voted mainly for the Liberal candidates. Russell, like Derby, had retired from active politics. In the new House of Commons, Disraeli and his followers were in a minority of about one hundred. He resigned, and the new year, 1869, opened with Gladstone as Premier.

Defeat of Disraeli, 1868.

IV. Ireland and the Colonies: 1853-1867.

Ireland—Australasia—South Africa—Jamaica—Canada.

In Ireland there were always three grievances—religious, agrarian, and political, each of them in some degree mixed up with the other two. The worst part of the religious grievance had been removed by Catholic emancipation; but that had not done away with the deep-rooted hostility between Roman Catholics and Protestants. In a country where the great majority of the population were Catholics, all the Church lands and endowments had been appropriated to the Protestant Church and clergy, who still retained them; the tithes were still paid to them by the landlords out of their rents, and the rents were paid by a mainly Catholic peasantry, so that really the Catholic peasantry were paying to support a Protestant Church, while their own Church and priesthood were supported only by voluntary contributions. That was an injustice—but it did not rankle nearly so deeply as the bitterness which had been implanted by generations of actual Protestant tyranny on one side, and dread of Catholic tyranny on the other.

1. Ireland.

Then nothing had been done to remove the agrarian grievances. Roughly speaking, all over Ireland the tenants paid what were called

rack-rents. The landlord stood to the tenants in very much the same position as that of an English manufacturer to his employees when trade unions had not become powerful. The tenant had to pay or promise to pay whatever rent the landlord chose to demand—which generally meant the biggest sum that any one would promise. If the tenant was turned out of his holding, he would lose his means of livelihood and starve, as there was no other employment for him to turn to; so to keep his holding he would promise more than he could pay; then he failed to pay and was turned out; and then he and his friends took revenge on the new tenant who took his place, and on the landlord or his agents, by all manner of outrages from houghing cattle to murder. The Government punished the crimes when it could, but refused to interfere between landlord and tenant (just as in England it refused to interfere between the employer and the adult male labourer) because of the general conviction that any interference with 'freedom of contract,' with the right of every one to make the best bargain for himself that he could, was wrong in principle. The Land.

The political grievance, that Ireland was governed by the will not of the Irish but of the English people, remained in spite of the Union. The Irish, like the Scots, had their share in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster, Ireland having twice as many members as Scotland; from the English point of view, it was unreasonable that she should not be satisfied. But in Scottish affairs Governments were guided by Scottish opinion, in Irish affairs they were still guided by Irish Protestant opinion. And the English persisted firmly in the belief that the political grievance was unreal, a thing invented by unscrupulous agitators for their own ends. They were confirmed in that belief, because after the breakdown of the Young Ireland insurrection in 1848 the agitation for 'Repeal' died down. The Union.

In actual fact it died down largely because a great proportion of the more energetic young men and women emigrated to America, where they nursed their feud against the British ascendency. The American Irish had learnt the uselessness of open rebellion, but not of resistance to an alien Government by persistent defiance of the law which would make government impossible. They were as determined as ever to liberate Ireland from the English yoke. Secret societies were formed in America, the chief of them being one called the Fenian Brotherhood; their agents set to work also in Ireland itself. In 1865 a widespread Fenian conspiracy was discovered; a number of the leaders were arrested and imprisoned; others escaped The Fenians.

to America. But two years later, in 1867, a fresh Fenian plot was discovered. Again there were a number of arrests. An attempt was made to rescue two prisoners from the police in Manchester; in the struggle a policeman was shot. The rescuers were themselves taken, and three of them were tried and hanged for the murder of the policeman. From the English point of view they were murderers, from the Fenian point of view they were martyrs, victims who suffered unjustly for their courage in Freedom's cause. No one, however, could well persuade himself that there was anything heroic about the crime which followed—an attempt to blow up Clerkenwell prison in order that two prisoners there might be rescued. The prisoners were not rescued, but four perfectly innocent persons were killed. The mildest term that could be applied to such atrocities was 'misguided,' for no good could possibly have come of them. But the mere fact that sane and kindly men honestly sympathised with the criminals was proof that they felt the existing system as an intolerable iniquity—whether it was the religious, the agrarian, or the political grievance which really lay at the root of the evil.

The Liberal leader in England believed that he had discovered the source of disease and the remedy. He began, as we shall see, with the religious grievance, and the disease remained. He went on to the agrarian grievance, with the same result. It was not till 1886 that he made the Irish political grievance the pivot of his policy, the problem which absorbed him for the rest of his life, and which was still unsolved when he died.

2. New Colonial Theory.

In Canada and in Australia the period was one of political growth, of immense importance in the development of the Commonwealth, but not marked by sensational events and dramatic surprises. The old era in which the Mother Country had regarded her Colonies as dependencies whose separate interests must always give way to her own had long passed away; the idea had given place to the doctrine that they were outlets for a part of her population that she could very well spare, and in course of time would certainly follow the American example and set up as independent States. She would not make the old mistake of trying to hold them against their will; during the 'forties' she had come to the further conclusion that the sooner they were fit to set up for themselves, the better it would be for every one concerned. Very few people yet had the vision of a future Commonwealth of States, a union not the less

close because it would be free; but every colony should learn the business of self-government after the English model.

The Act of Reunion had given Canada the necessary freedom, and the governorship of Lord Elgin had developed her 'representative' institutions into full 'responsible' government. The same development was then pressed upon the Australian colonies, which in 1853 responded to the invitation of the home Government by each of them (Western Australia excepted) drawing up the scheme of a Constitution for itself—New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania; and in 1854 the four constitutions were formally sanctioned by Act of Parliament. In each, as in the Canadian Government, the English model was followed, with some variations. A governor sent from England represented the Crown; there was an elected chamber corresponding to the House of Commons, and a second chamber answering to the House of Lords, with its members either appointed by the governor or elected under different regulations from the representative chamber. The home Government still retained an over-ruling authority only to be exercised in emergencies which were very unlikely ever to arise, but reserved to itself the conduct of foreign policy. The administration in each colony, as in England, was in the hands of ministers nominally appointed by the Crown but actually responsible to the Representative Chamber. The Colonies did not adopt the British policy of Free Trade, since unchecked competition would have made it very difficult to establish new industries for the manufacture of goods which could not at once be produced as cheaply in Australia as in England or other European states. Australia.

From 1854 onwards nothing striking has to be recorded in Australia, except the separation of Queensland as a distinct colony from New South Wales in 1858. Matters went less quietly in New Zealand after Grey's departure in 1853. The representative system which he established developed at once into responsible government, but troubles arose again with the Maori, over the old question of purchases of land. Fighting broke out in 1860, and the Maori were not fully reduced to submission till 1867, and even after that many years passed before they were completely reconciled to the British rule. New Zealand.

It may be remarked that full representative institutions and finally responsible government had been given to Canada during the forties in response to a demand for them in the colony; in Australasia the

demand was only beginning, it was not urgent, and the grant was made really on the motion of the home Government; but in South Africa the boon was pressed upon the Colonies by the home Government rather against their own will, except in the case of the Transvaal (1852). Cape Colony was given an elected Legislative Assembly (in 1853), which it accepted with some reluctance, being satisfied with the old form of government, and it was not till many more years had passed that the ministry became responsible to the Legislature. The Boer Settlement between the Orange River, the Vaal, and the Drakensberg became the Orange Free State by the Bloemfontein Convention in 1854, and under able Presidents conducted its affairs as a model Republic with great success for many years. Natal became a colony separate from the Cape in 1856. But South Africa differed both from Australia and Canada because in every colony there was a large negro population, besides the yellow Hottentots and Griquas (people of mixed White and Hottentot descent), and on their borders lay Kaffir tribes—Basutos, Cosas, Zulus, Matabele, Mashonas, ruled by their own chiefs, not by British administrators—who might at any time come into collision with the British or with the Dutch of the Orange Free State or the Transvaal; while neither of the latter had forces sufficient to cope with a big Kaffir war. Hence, however willing the British might be to cut the Boer republics adrift, they were obliged to assert control over the relations between them and their Kaffir neighbours, since in the event of a war they would certainly find themselves obliged to take part in it.

3. South Africa.

It was not only in South Africa that the British Empire had to face the problem of maintaining the British authority (which was necessary to self-preservation) over races still in a condition of barbarism, or, at best, of a civilisation far behind that of European peoples. Every one who has had to do with such peoples knows that there are times when they can be kept under the restraint of law only by an exertion of force which in a fully civilised community appears extremely brutal. British rulers sometimes have to choose between measures of merciless severity and the risk of a sanguinary life-and-death struggle. An instance of this grim problem occurred during this period in Jamaica, where there was a very large negro population, most of whom had in the last generation been slaves. In 1865 a great negro revolt seemed on the point of breaking out. Had it done so, the results would have been unspeakably horrible. Governor Eyre chose his course; he struck hard and without mercy, suspending the

Jamaica.

law that he might strike the harder. The revolt was strangled; but public opinion in England was violently divided between those who condemned and those who supported the action of Governor Eyre.

4. Canada.

The development of representative and responsible government in the 'White' colonies was a thing which was bound to come. The Jamaica affair was a kind of episode which seems bound to recur where European races are ruling over far more numerous non-Europeans. But in North America, a movement was taking place, of vital importance to the Empire which was now beginning to become a Commonwealth, a movement towards union among the several colonies on the North American Continent. Upper and Lower Canada had been at once united and kept distinct by the Act of Reunion in 1842; but the rest, the 'maritime' colonies about the St. Lawrence estuary and the expanding communities beyond the Canadas on the north and west, were still completely separate. In accordance with a scheme drawn up by them, the 'B.N.A.' (British North America) Act, passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1867, when Disraeli was Prime Minister, sanctioned the voluntary incorporation of any colony in North America with the Dominion of Canada, with a proportionate representation in the Dominion Government, each retaining its own Provincial Government on the same footing as the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario. Of all the American colonies, Newfoundland alone has hitherto maintained its separation from the Dominion of Canada.

V. India: 1850-1868.

Dalhousie—The Mutiny—The New Order.

1. Dalhousie's Rule.

In India the British dominion weathered an exceptionally critical period. We have seen the great Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, bringing under direct British administration great provinces which had hitherto remained under the government of hereditary native princes. The last and in some ways the most important of these annexations, that of Oudh, was decided upon in England—rather against Dalhousie's wishes—before his departure, but was left to his successor Lord Canning to carry out in 1856.

Meanwhile great advances—from a European point of view—had been made under Dalhousie's rule. The machinery for education had been greatly increased, canals dug, roads and bridges built. Railways were planned and started; telegraph lines were set up. The annexed

districts were much better governed than they had ever been before. Brigandage—'dacoity'—had at last been stamped out. Evil-doers had learnt that the Law was too strong for them. Dalhousie left India with the confident conviction, which few were prepared to question, that an era of undisturbed peace and progress had set in.

Yet there were some who doubted. Native princes were uneasy; it seemed likely that before long the dominions of most of them would 'lapse' to the British sovereign. Most of them knew that it was only the strong arm of the British which prevented the weaker from falling a prey to the stronger; but some of them loved the British none the better for that. Mohammedans remembered that for centuries they had been the lords of India—the heir of the Moguls still dwelt at Delhi in magnificence, but with no shadow of authority. Of the two great Mohammedan princes, the Nizam and the king of Oudh, the second—whose House for a century had been unfailingly loyal to the British—was even now being deposed (because the misrule in Oudh had grown into an intolerable scandal); infidels reigned in the seats of the faithful. Marathas, Maratha Brahmans especially, believed that but for the British they themselves would have been the masters of India. Dundu Pant, otherwise known as Nana Sahib, the heir of the last Peshwa, was merely a very wealthy landowner, nursing in his heart an imaginary grievance against the British. And all alike felt that whether the British rule was good or bad it was an alien rule, infinitely more alien than that of any native Indian, whether Moslem or Hindu, Mogul or Maratha. That it was rule by the sword was a matter of course—any rule whatever would have rested entirely upon the military supremacy of the ruler.

Beneath the Surface.

The Hindu masses of the many peoples of India had been accustomed from all time to submit unresisting to any ruler. One might protect them from Afghan invaders, from Pindaris and other brigands and despoilers, another might not; but the protector was quite sure to interfere with them in other ways, disturbing to immemorial customs, beliefs, superstitions, for which the Englishman's careless contempt was no less irritating than the fiercer hostility of the Mohammedan.

The People.

Moreover, the Englishman punished with severity misdeeds which did not in the least shock the conscience of orientals. To them, too, Dalhousie's progressive measures were alarming, savouring of black magic, pointing certainly to some sinister intention. They were more conscious of inconvenient control than of protection.

Then there were the soldiery, the sepoys who under British leadership had won so many battles for the British. The British power rested on their loyalty. Between Bengal and the Punjab there was hardly a white regiment, but many sepoy regiments, and (in 1856) many disbanded soldiers of the Oudh army. White troops, withdrawn to take part in the Crimean War, had never been replaced—and half India believed that the war had broken the British military power. Plotters, Mohammedan and Hindu, saw in the 'Bengal army,' the army of the Bengal Presidency, an instrument for the destruction of the British dominion. And then in 1856, there was a Persian war, due to a threatening movement of the Persians upon Herat. It was a small war, but it took away good troops and good officers from India.

The Sepoys.

Moreover, there was a new Governor-General, who at first was very much in the hands of experienced officials whom Dalhousie had left behind him; men who thoroughly understood the work he had allowed them to do under his instructions, but—at headquarters—unfitted to direct the Government. Misled by them Canning immediately after his arrival issued an order which filled the whole sepoy army of Bengal with alarm, the 'General Service Enlistment Act.' In future all recruits enlisted were to be liable for service over-sea if called on.

The Government.

Most of the Bengal sepoys were high-caste Hindus. He who crosses the sea loses his caste, a worse thing in his eyes than excommunication for a Roman Catholic. It was easy to make the sepoy believe that the order was not only a direct but a deliberate blow at the Caste system and the whole Hindu religion. At the same time, encouraged by the smallness of the number of the white troops in India, fanatical Moslems were plotting a Mogul restoration, and there were Hindus also plotting a revival of Hindu dominion. The two could not possibly be reconciled; but there might be a temporary reconciliation in order to remove what was to each the immediate obstacle—the British Raj.

Hindus and Mohammedans.

And then came the fatal blunder. In Europe breach-loading rifles with cartridges were just taking the place of the old muzzle-loading musket. The new Enfield rifle was to be introduced in the Indian army. The cartridge required to be made with grease in it, and the tip had to be bitten off on loading. The story was spread among the troops that the grease was made of the fat of swine and cattle—the first an unclean beast to the Mohammedan, the second a sacred animal to the Hindu. To each, the new

The Cartridge Incident.

cartridge was an abomination. No cartridges so made were issued, though some in fact had been so made in disregard of orders; but the mischief was done.

2. The Mutiny, May 1857.

THE secret agitators had been given their fatal weapon; the sepoys took fright. Some regiments broke into mutiny when paraded to receive the new rifle. Then on 10th May 1857, the whole sepoy camp at Mirat broke into revolt, murdered its British officers, and marched on Delhi to proclaim the Restoration of the Mogul Empire.

In the course of the next six weeks, nearly every sepoy regiment, on the basin of the Ganges and its tributaries from Delhi down to Patna, had mutinied, including those of the Gwalior contingent in Sindhia's service; though Sindhia himself, his minister Dinkar Rao, and his Government, were unshaken in their loyalty, they could not restrain the troops. Not one of all the ruling native princes countenanced the revolt, though some of them were hard put to it to keep the soldiery in hand, and not all of them were successful. In the Punjab and in Bengal itself, the mutinous regiments were mastered and disarmed. Between Delhi and Patna, the area of active revolt, Agra alone was safe; but Allahabad was secured by a small force chiefly composed of Sikhs, who were splendidly loyal throughout. There were other native regiments, too, or fragments of regiments, which stood by their officers.

The Conflict.

By the end of June, Nana Sahib had taken Cawnpore (the gateway into Oudh), treacherously slaughtered the garrison, and held the survivors captive along with the white women and children. The rest of the whites who had not been murdered—soldiers, civilians, women and children, and the loyal sepoys—were shut up in Agra, which was not in immediate danger, or in the Residency buildings at Lucknow, the capital of Oudh; except the few troops that had joined together to seize the Ridge facing Delhi and lay siege to the city. The mutineers were concentrating either on Delhi, where they enormously outnumbered the besiegers, or on Lucknow, where they enormously outnumbered the besieged garrison of the Residency.

The Crisis, July-September.

For the next three months the situation was extremely critical. The only reinforcements for the British were a few troops which had been ordered to China, and on their way were diverted to India. At any moment, troops restrained by the native princes might break loose and join the revolt. For a time the trustworthy troops which could be spared from the Punjab and Bengal

could be counted by hundreds. Havelock, back from Persia, with a small force, chiefly Highlanders and Sikhs, drove his way by desperate fighting from Allahabad to Cawnpore, where Nana Sahib before retreating butchered his captives in cold blood—a deed of horror which inspired a blind rage for vengeance. No mutineer troops, even when they were ten to one, would stand before Havelock's onset. But Havelock had to fight against cholera, which prostrated half his force; though he crossed the Ganges he had to fall back again to Cawnpore: while the Lucknow garrison, grim and sleepless, held out against the masses which swarmed round the Residency defences. But by degrees loyal troops, Sikhs and frontier 'guides,' came down from the Punjab to the Delhi Ridge; the wall of Delhi was breached; between 13th and 21st September the imperial city was stormed and carried by the British, and the mutineers were in retreat. On 15th September Havelock was joined by Outram with a small reinforcement, and the two hacked their way into the Residency on 25th September, giving new power of resistance to the exhausted garrison.

The tide had turned. Troops were arriving now from England, and a new commander, Sir Colin Campbell. In November the Residency was finally relieved; a garrison was left in the fortress called the Alam Bagh. Campbell advanced against the Gwalior army which had been acting independently, routed it, and then returned to shatter (in March 1858) the rebel forces which still held Lucknow city. There was no big rebel army in the field after this, but it was not till the end of the year that resistance was finally crushed. Jhansi had been another centre of revolt under the leadership of the Rani—the widow of the last Raja, who had reigned before Jhansi was annexed by 'lapse.' Her troops joined hands with those of the ablest rebel leader, Tantia Topi. The Oudh 'talukdars,' who were half landowners and half Rajput clan-chiefs, took alarm at an ill-advised British proclamation, and plunged into the struggle from which prudence, or loyalty, had hitherto kept them aloof. But the complete suppression of the revolt was no longer in doubt. The gallant Rani fell in battle, sword in hand, Tantia Topi was captured. The talukdars were reconciled by a new order which met the justice of the case; with their submission, resistance ended.

Suppression of the Revolt.

On 1st January 1859, a most wisely-worded proclamation made it known that the government of India by the East India Company was ended, and the Crown had taken over the entire responsibility; there

was to be no more divided authority. The Governor-General became in fact and in name the Viceroy, the Queen's Deputy: the title of Viceroy was not given officially but was adopted in practice. Lord Canning, the last of the Company's Governor-Generals, remained as the first Viceroy. He had never allowed the passions aroused by the struggle and the crimes which had accompanied it to blind him to the distinction which must be made between the leaders and organisers of murders and massacres, and their dupes who had been taught to believe that they were fighting in a holy cause; or to forget the difficulties and dangers which the loyal princes and their ministers had faced unflinching. Men called him 'Clemency Canning' at the time, in bitter derision; when the passions of the hour were cooled and clearer vision became possible, the name flung at him in contempt was recognised as a title of honour.

3. India under the Crown, 1859-68.

Punishment fell only upon those whose guilt was unpardonable. The natural anxiety of the princes was allayed by the definite declaration that the rule of Adoption would thenceforth be recognised, and the continuity of their dynasties would thus be ensured; in effect nothing but intolerable and persistent misgovernment would endanger their position. The Company's civil servants and the Company's army were transferred to the service of the Crown. The Governor-General in Council—the Government of India—became directly responsible to the Crown in Parliament, a Secretary of State for India taking the place of the 'President of the Board of Control' in London.

A New Order.

The appointment of Lord Canning to the viceroyalty was the best possible guarantee of sympathetic rule. When Canning left India in 1862, he was followed by Lord Elgin, who had done admirable work in Canada, and had dealt successfully with the Chinese problem. On Elgin's death in the following year he was succeeded by John Lawrence, to whose administration Dalhousie had entrusted the Punjab, and who had secured the confidence alike of the natives of India, the British community in India, and the British public at home. The reorganisation of the Indian Government was largely his work, and the period of his rule was marked by no disturbances.

SUMMARIES

Acts of Parliament: 1853-1868.

Colonial Constitutions Acts, 1854, confirmed the constitutions giving responsible government to four Australian Colonies.

India Act, 1858, ended the East India Company, and transferred the government of India to the Crown. The supreme authority at home was to be the Secretary of State for India in Council at the India Office, a member of the Cabinet and responsible to Parliament. The actual government in India was to be as before, in the hands of the Governor-General (not named 'Viceroy' in the Act) in Council. The Secretary of State changed as ministries changed; the Governor-General was appointed for a term of years, and remained in office though the ministry changed, but would either resign or be recalled if he and the ministry were in disagreement.

Budget framed as a single Finance Bill, 1861. The effect was that thenceforward the Peers could reject no part of the Financial plan for the year unless they rejected the whole. This Bill abolished the Paper duty.

(Second) Reform Bill, 1867, extended the franchise in boroughs to all householders and all lodgers paying a rent of £10 a year, thus admitting all town artisans in regular employment.

British North America (B.N.A) Act, 1867, sanctioned voluntary inclusion of any British North American Colonies in the Dominion of Canada, while reserving their separate State rights.

Chronology: 1853-1868.

1853. Aberdeen ministry.
1854. Crimean War begins. Battles of Alma, Balaclava, and Inkerman.
South Africa: Bloemfontein Treaty. Orange Free State.
1855. *Jan.* Palmerston Prime Minister (to 1858).
Sept. Fall of Sevastopol.
1856. *March.* Treaty of Paris.
1857-8. *Indian* Mutiny.
1857-60. Second China War.
1858. *Feb.* Lord Derby Prime Minister.
India Act, transferring Government of India to the Crown.

1859-65. Palmerston Prime Minister.
1859-61. *Italy*: establishment of the united Italian kingdom.
1861-65. *American* Civil War.
1864. *Europe*: Schleswig-Holstein War.
1865. Death of Palmerston. Russell Prime Minister.
1866. *Prussia and Austria*: Seven Weeks' War.
Derby Prime Minister.
1867. Second Reform Act.
British North America Act. Canadian federation.
Fenian activities.
1868. *Dec.* Gladstone Prime Minister.

Ministries: 1852-1868.

1852. *Dec.* Aberdeen. Palmerston Home Secretary.
Gladstone Chancellor of Exchequer.
1855. *Feb.* Palmerston.
1858. *Feb.* Derby. Disraeli Chancellor of Exchequer.
1859. *June.* Palmerston. Gladstone Chancellor of Exchequer.
1865. *Oct.* Russell. Gladstone Chancellor of Exchequer.
1866. *June.* Derby. Disraeli Chancellor of Exchequer.
1868. *Feb.* Disraeli's first ministry.
Dec. Gladstone's first ministry.

CHAPTER XI

GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI: 1869-1886.

I. The Powers and Britain: 1869-1886.

The British Governments, 1869-86—The Franco-Prussian War, and the new German Empire—France and other Powers—Treaties and Arbitrations—Beaconsfield and the Eastern Question—The Berlin Treaties.

THE period with which we have to deal in this chapter opens with the meeting of the first Parliament elected after the town artisan had been admitted to the franchise. It closes with the meeting of the first after the same rights had been extended to the agricultural labourer also. The Reform Act of 1885 completed the work of that of 1867 in shaping a 'democratic electorate.' Democracy does not mean government by any class, but government in which persons of every class have an equal voice in choosing the representatives who are to do the work of governing. There is not a really complete democracy unless all men and women have an equal vote; but a government is properly called 'democratic' when the equal vote is within reach of every man at least who can earn a regular living. A very long stride had been taken towards making a democratic electorate when the town artisan got the vote, but it was what might be called a one-sided stride, incomplete till the rural labourer got it too.

1. Democracy.

There were three Parliaments during the period, each of which lasted about six years. In the first (1868-74) and third (1880-85), the Liberals were in power with Gladstone as Prime Minister; in the second (1874-80), the Conservatives with Disraeli as their chief. In the course of it he was made Earl of Beaconsfield, so that it is commonly called the Beaconsfield administration. The first Gladstone ministry was a time of active law-making, largely concerned with Ireland. Under Beaconsfield too there was some 'social' legislation intended to improve the conditions

The British Governments, 1869-85.

of life among the working classes, but Foreign, Colonial, and Indian affairs were the leading concerns of his policy. In the second Gladstone ministry Ireland was more prominent than ever, Egypt presented the Government with new problems, the need for extending the franchise very nearly brought about a battle royal between Lords and Commons, and the Irish question reached a phase which in the next Parliament brought about the disruption of the Liberal party.

Now we have to note a curious point. Throughout these years the old positions of the Conservative and Liberal parties in regard to foreign affairs seem to be reversed. From 1830 to 1865 the foreign policy of the Liberals was the policy of Palmerston, who was always bent not only on maintaining British interests abroad, but also on making Britain's influence felt even in matters with which she was not directly concerned. This was the policy that Palmerston inherited from Canning. The Conservatives inherited the policy of Wellington, who knew so much more about war than most people in England that he loathed it from the bottom of his soul; the greatest soldier in Europe was the most pacific of politicians. But there was always a section of the Liberals (the great Free-Trade leaders, Cobden, Bright, and others) who disliked Palmerston's provocative language and attitude; so also did the Peelites—headed by Gladstone—who came into the Liberal party; and after Palmerston's death, the party took its foreign policy from Gladstone. But the Conservatives took their foreign policy from Disraeli; it was Peel, not Palmerston, with whom Disraeli had quarrelled, and on every possible subject Disraeli and Gladstone took opposing views. Thus it was now Disraeli and his Conservative followers who carried on the Palmerston tradition so far as British self-assertion was concerned, winning over to their side many Palmerstonians whose Liberalism in domestic politics was very half-hearted as Palmerston's had been; and it was Disraeli's determination to stand up to Russia which continued to make Britain the champion of 'the integrity of the Turkish Empire' in spite of the iniquities of Turkish rule.

Parties and Foreign Policy.

During Gladstone's first ministry, however, the 'Eastern Question' was not being forced upon Europe. Events of first-rate importance were taking place there and in other regions of the world; but neither Palmerston nor Disraeli, if he had been in Gladstone's place, would have intervened in them. We must explain them however, because they brought about big changes in the relations between all the Powers.

In 1870 France and Prussia went to war. The rest of the German states (among which Austria had ceased after 1866 to reckon as one) went into the war by the side of Prussia. France was overwhelmed, her emperor Napoleon III. was overthrown, and for the third time she became a Republic, as she has remained ever since.

2. Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1.

On the other hand, the victorious German states became united. When the war began there was a Confederation of North German states which had a common military organisation under the control of Prussia, besides a common 'fiscal system' called the *Zollverein*, also controlled by Prussia. The Zollverein meant that between the states there was free trade, while they all had the same protective tariff against the foreigner. South German states were admitted to the Zollverein without being full members of the Confederation. But when the war was over Germany had become the German Empire. It was a 'Federal Empire'; that is, the states of which it was composed were still the separate kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and so on, with their own kings and their own governments; but over all was the German Emperor—and the German Emperor was the king of Prussia. All were under one fiscal system, and one military organisation; and though the Imperial Government and the Prussian Government were not the same, the Prussian king-emperor and his Prussian ministers were practically the Imperial Government, the whole army was under Prussian chiefs, and the foreign policy of the German Empire was dictated by Prussia.

The New German Empire.

This German Empire was incomparably the most powerful military state in Europe, while for eighteen years the direction of its affairs remained in the hands of its creator Otto von Bismarck. In the past there had never been a united Germany. The various states had been loosely combined in the old Holy Roman Empire (801-1806), in the Confederation of the Rhine at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the German Confederation (1815-66); but they had never been united either for aggression or for defence: in the big European wars there had always been German states on both sides. Prussia (for one hundred and thirty years) or Austria had only been the biggest German Powers, and for more than three centuries Austria had been only in part German. But in the new German Empire Prussia really absorbed all the rest except Austria, which was shut out of it altogether. The new Germany was in fact the old Prussia enormously strengthened. To create it had hitherto been

Bismarck and Germany.

the object of Bismarck's life, now successfully accomplished. For the rest of his life, his object was not the expansion of Prussian or German dominion but the secure establishment of the Power he had created.

To create it, it had been necessary to preserve friendly relations with Russia, to expel Austria from Germany, and to break the power of France. These things he had done. To establish it, it was necessary to be on good terms with Austria as well as with Russia, not because Austria by herself was dangerous, but because, if Russia with her vast resources became aggressively hostile, Austria would be a very useful ally. That was the reason why Bismarck, when he forced Austria out of Germany, had held his hand and dealt gently with the defeated foe. Like Frederick the Great in 1763, Bismarck wanted no more fighting for Germany; security lay in accord between the three empires, but especially between Germany and Austria.

Bismarck and Europe.

Britain, from Bismarck's point of view, did not matter. There were no antagonisms of German and British interests, of the sort which lead to war; Britain had no armies, Germany had no navy and no colonies. There was no object in quarrelling with her unless she interfered with his plans, which she was very unlikely to do. She might fight with Russia as much as she liked; Germany would suffer nothing from the weakening of either.

But what of France? She was too much shattered by the war of 1870-71 to be immediately dangerous, but if she ever recovered her power she would certainly use it against Germany. He had not spared her as he spared Austria. He had torn from her the Rhine provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and she would never be content till she had recovered them. Since goodwill between France and Germany was not to be looked for, France must not be allowed to recover her power. It was Germany's business to encourage ill-feeling between her and every other Power lest she should gain allies: it was not likely that she could grow strong enough to be dangerous on her own account.

Bismarck and France.

3. The French Republic.

France in fact did not for a long time grow strong. Her government was too unsettled. In 1830 a revolution had overturned the Bourbon monarchy and set the Orleanist monarchy in its place. In 1848 another revolution drove out the Orleanists and set up a Republic. In 1851 Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* overturned the Republic and set up again a Bonapartist monarchy, though

he did not assume the title of emperor till a year later. In 1870, in the middle of the war, another revolution drove the Bonapartists into exile and set up the Third Republic. All the revolutions except the first had been accompanied or followed by much bloodshed; each new Government, to establish itself, had first to fight hard to suppress the 'Red' Republicans, who wanted to revolutionise not only the form of government but the whole order of society like the Jacobins of old. The Third Republic had first a desperate struggle with them; and for many years to come it was doubtful whether it would not again be overthrown by one of the three monarchist factions—the adherents of the Bourbons, the Orleanists, and the Bonapartes. The three factions would not combine, so the Republic was saved; but until its security was firmly established France could not play a leading part in European politics.

The German Empire and the French Republic were the two leading results of the Franco-Prussian War—a war which Bismarck brought on at the exact moment that suited him, though he made it appear at the time that it was Napoleon's doing. He and his army chiefs knew that their own military machinery was in perfect working order but that the French military machinery was thoroughly rotten. But whenever he wanted a war—with Denmark, or Austria, or France—he took the greatest care to stir up an excited war-party in the other country, and to make it appear that they forced war upon Prussia; other Powers should have no excuse for intervening on behalf of Prussia's victim when the victim was made to look like a wanton aggressor.

But there was also another consequence of the Franco-Prussian duel which might be called accidental. In 1870 the Pope still ruled in Rome; the Eternal City and the Pope's estates, the 'patrimony of St. Peter,' were not part of the kingdom of Italy, though all Italy wanted Rome to be its capital. Napoleon III., to secure the support of his dynasty by the 'clerical' party in France, had been the Pope's champion, and French troops had prevented Rome from being absorbed into the Italian kingdom. There was no love lost between France and Italy. But French troops could not guard Rome when French armies were being overwhelmed by the German onslaught. Unaided by France the Papal troops could not resist the army of the king of Italy, which was welcomed by the people of Rome. The Pope lost the last remnant of 'temporal power,' and the whole Italian peninsula was at last united under one crown, though the

Italy.

boundary drawn between Austria and Italy in 1866 still left Austria in possession of territory which all Italians regarded as being rightfully Italian, *Italia Irredenta*, 'Unredeemed Italy.'

Japan.

And meanwhile one of the most astonishing revolutions in the world's history was taking place in quite a different part of the globe. Japan became suddenly aware that there was a real world outside her own islands and the Chinese Empire; a world from which she had held herself rigorously aloof but which was not likely to leave her much longer undisturbed. The whole governing class and the whole people broke with their traditions, and laid themselves out to learn everything that could be learnt from Western civilisation. In the course of a few years Japan was transformed from an early mediaeval state into a very up-to-date modern one, with a Government adapted from European models, especially the British, armies trained and armed in like fashion, and the beginnings of a navy. But it was not till the end of the century that the Western World became aware that the new Japan was a Power which would have to be reckoned with.

4. International Relations, 1870-1.

Of course, no European Governments concerned themselves with the Japanese revolution; the effect of it was to open Japan for the admission of European commerce, and that was all they cared about. The sudden blazing out of the quarrel between Prussia and France was another matter; but still none of them intervened. Bismarck had been at great pains to make sure of Russia's friendship, whereas France had offended her. Austria might have struck at Prussia in the hope of avenging her defeat four years before; but she was restrained by the fear that if she did she would herself be attacked by Russia. Britain saw no excuse for interfering, beyond demanding from both the belligerents assurances—which were given and kept faithfully—that they would observe the guarantees (which both had given thirty years before) of Belgium's neutrality. When France was prostrate and helpless before the German armies, Britain used all her influence to soften the severity of the terms imposed by the victors on the vanquished, and Russia warned Bismarck that if the Rhine Provinces were taken from France she would never rest till she got them back; but Russia's warning had no effect, and British mediation very little. France had to undergo her fate unaided. The Franco-German treaty of 1871 is known as the Treaty of Frankfort.

Russia, however, turned the war to her own advantage and the disadvantage of Britain. She had chafed under the clauses of the Black Sea Treaty (following the Crimean War), which forbade her to place fleets on the Black Sea. When France was occupied in fighting Germany, Russia announced that she intended no longer to be bound by those clauses. Britain alone would object. Britain protested that no Power has a right to repudiate treaty obligations which were part of a compact between several Powers; if the treaty was to be revised, it must be done by the Powers concerned, in concert. At a hint from Bismarck, Russia agreed to a conference of the Treaty Powers which was held in London. Bismarck supported Russia's demands, the rest would not oppose them, Britain was obliged to give way, and the 'Declaration of London' (1871) surrendered the one thing of real value that Palmerston had secured as the result of the Crimean War.

Declaration of London, 1871.

In the same year there was another treaty of great importance, not European, but between Britain and the United States. Ever since the North had won its complete victory over the South in the great Civil War, the United States Government had been making enormous claims against Britain for compensation on account of alleged damage done by the British, in spite of their professed neutrality, during the war. A great part of these were absurd; but there was no doubt at all that a great deal of damage really had been done by some British-built cruisers, especially the *Alabama*, in the service of the Confederates. The British Government declared that it was not to blame in the matter, the United States Government declared that it was. Hitherto when two great States had something serious to quarrel over they had either to come to an agreement between themselves, or to leave the question unsettled, or to fight it out. In this case, British and Americans could not agree, the Americans were resolved that it must be settled, and it seemed likely that the two Powers would end by fighting it out. But by the Treaty of Washington they found a way of escape. They agreed to refer the question to arbitration—the impartial judgment of some one whose interests were not affected by it—and to abide by the decision of the umpire, whether they thought him right or wrong.

Treaty of Washington, 1871.

The Treaty of Washington was the first great Arbitration Treaty between two powerful nations. A new way had been found for avoiding war, when neither party was bent on fighting, but the question in dispute between them was too serious to be left unsettled. No doubt,

a Power which felt sure of winning in case of a fight would still be inclined to prefer fighting to the risk of being defeated in an Arbitration—if the thing was worth a fight. But even then, if it was sure of the justice of its own case and sure that the umpire would be absolutely impartial, it would take the risk. The British were very much inclined to doubt whether any foreign umpire would be impartial, because foreigners generally were likely to be jealous of the power and prosperity of the British Empire; but the British Government took the risk. The arbitration was put in the hands of an international Commission, which in 1872 gave the 'Geneva award.' The British have always held that the award was much more favourable to the American claims than it should have been. But they had led the way in acting upon the principle that even between nations disputes should be settled by the judgment of a disinterested person, not by the fighting power of the disputants.

Arbitration.

Another Anglo-American question, a dispute about the 'Vancouver Boundary' on the west coast of North America, was also settled by arbitration about the same time, the umpire being the old German Emperor. In this case too, unfortunately, the British and especially the Canadians considered that the award was unfairly favourable to the Americans. It appeared to the public—when the Declaration of London was followed by these two awards—that the Gladstone Government did not understand the business of standing up for British rights. Such things would not have happened if Palmerston had been alive! And that feeling in the country certainly had something to do with the fact that when Parliament was dissolved in 1874, at the beginning of its seventh year, a solid Conservative majority was returned at the General Election—for the first time since 1841.

In 1875 foreign affairs were showing signs of again becoming the leading problem—and they were the subject in which the Prime Minister, Disraeli, was most keenly interested. Every other leading statesman hitherto had been very British, with the sort of mind that most Englishmen and Scots—though not always Irishmen—can understand. Disraeli was a man of a different kind, with a lively imagination and a delight in doing startling and unexpected things which no Englishman would have thought of. At the end of 1875, he very thoroughly startled the world with the announcement that the British Government had practically become the owner of the Suez Canal. We shall come back to that presently, when we

5. Beaconsfield, 1875.

turn to the story of the British in Egypt; but it must be mentioned here, because it was an instance of Disraeli's fondness for taking the public by surprise, and of the fact that he was often thinking about big Imperial schemes when the minds of other folk were absorbed in every-day questions. He was thinking now about the Empire in India which most people were content to leave to the Indian Government until it was forced upon their attention, as it had been by the last Afghan War and by the great Mutiny. But thinking about India meant thinking about Russia—her pressure, from Central Asia, upon Persia and Afghanistan, and her pressure upon Turkey, which at Constantinople commanded the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, on which war fleets were no longer forbidden.

The Eastern Question, 1875-6.

Moreover, in 1875 the Balkans were astir again. In the north-west of what was then the Turkish Empire, in Herzegovina and Bosnia, the peasantry were goaded to revolt in arms against their tyrants, the Mohammedan landowners. The Turkish Government had never attempted to carry out the promises of reform made in 1856, though it had proclaimed new laws which no one dreamt of enforcing. The Turks now could not crush the insurrection. The Austrian Government, with the approval of the other Powers, proposed a series of reforms; the Turks replied that they were quite willing, but could not set about reforms while the rebels were in arms. Then in 1876 the Bulgarians also revolted. Then the three emperors of Russia, Germany, and Austria, together demanded reforms. They had not consulted Britain, and Disraeli refused to support them. The Porte (Turkey) believed that Britain was at its back, and showed an obstinate front to the other Powers. Disraeli meant them to see that Britain must be consulted; moreover, he was more interested in keeping Turkey as an obstacle in Russia's way than in the good or bad government of the Turkish Empire. But public feeling was being roused against the Turks by stories of the frightful atrocities that were being committed in putting down the Bulgarian revolt. At the end of the year a conference of the Powers met at Constantinople. The Porte was quite ready, as always, to promise reforms, but flatly refused to let any one but herself have a hand in enforcing them.

Russia, convinced that in that case the reforms would not be carried out at all, withdrew from the conference, and resolved to take matters into her own hands (1877). As in 1854, she was convinced that Britain would not go to war. By midsummer, the Russians were

invading Turkey. For six months the Turks put up a stubborn resistance which excited general admiration; but in January 1878 the Russian armies were nearing Constantinople. There-upon British warships were ordered to Turkish waters. But in March, to the general surprise, Russia and Turkey came to terms in the Treaty of San Stefano.

Russo-Turkish War, 1877-8.

In the view of Beaconsfield (Disraeli had been made Earl of Beaconsfield eighteen months before) and Salisbury, his new Foreign Secretary, those terms meant that a big Principality of Bulgaria would be the principal power in the Balkan peninsula, that Bulgaria would be a tool in the hands of Russia, and that the Porte would be entirely under Russian control. Austria thought it meant that Serbia and Bosnia—Slavonic peoples—would be in Russia's hands too. The British Government claimed that all the Powers were pledged that no Turkish settlement should be made except by general consent. There must be a Congress of the Powers to revise the treaty. Russia at first refused. When she became convinced that Beaconsfield would fight, and might be supported by Austria, while Germany, if she did not stand neutral, would join them, she gave way and consented to submit the treaty to a Congress to be held at Berlin.

Before the Congress of Berlin met in June, Britain had come to secret agreements separately with Russia and Turkey, and Russia had her own secret agreement with Austria. The result was that Beaconsfield got exactly what he wanted. So did Austria. There was a small Bulgaria instead of a big one. Austria herself was to take charge of Bosnia for a time. The rest—Serbia and Montenegro being already practically independent—were to remain under Turkish rule. But the British were to occupy the island of Cyprus, and in return were to guarantee Turkey in her Asiatic dominions, in which of course Turkey duly promised to carry out reforms. Beaconsfield returned to England in a blaze of triumph, bringing, in his own phrase, Peace with Honour. In less than two years he had fallen from power, and Gladstone was again Prime Minister; the Liberal leader had retired for a time, but the Bulgarian atrocities had brought him out again to denounce Turkey and all her works, and he was again at the head of his party.

Berlin Congress, 1878.

As matters turned out, Bulgaria proved to be anything but a willing instrument in the hands of Russia, while Turkish misrule went on elsewhere precisely as before. But as before, Russia, thrust back from Constantinople by British intervention, checked also by Austria, and

displeased by Germany, turned more zealously than ever to the expansion in Asia, which always filled Indian statesmen with apprehension. But in Europe no new crises arose for some years to come.

II. The British Empire; India: 1869-1886.

Australasia and Canada—*India*: Lawrence to Northbrook—Lytton's Forward Policy—Afghan War—After the War.

WHEN the British North America Act was passed in 1867, all the British Colonies in North America and in Australasia were already in possession of what was practically complete self-government. What that Act did was to set in motion the process by which a group of them which had a large number of common interests could join themselves together in a closer union under a common government for the direction of affairs which concerned all of them, while each still remained in control of those which concerned itself alone. The North American group soon completed their union as the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland alone preferring to remain outside; but more than thirty years passed before the Australasian group followed their example. Meanwhile, between 1867 and 1886, the idea still prevailed at home that as time went on they would as a matter of course separate themselves from the Empire. They had been, so to speak, set on their feet, and might be left to look after themselves. They had huge territories and small populations, had no hereditary class distinctions, and could go their own way trying their own experiments, without throwing any long-established machinery out of gear. 1. Canada and Australasia, 1869-86.

So Canada and Australasia grew and flourished, without immediately affecting the course of events in the Old World. Canada's only neighbour was the United States; Australasia practically had none, since jealousies over the occupation of small islands in the Pacific Ocean by European Powers had not yet become acute.

On the other hand, India, and Africa from north to south, presented problems the solution of which was of first-rate importance to the Empire as a whole.

LORD LAWRENCE as Indian Viceroy (1864-68) had devoted himself mainly to the reorganisation of the system of government. He was fully convinced that if there were troubles outside British territory,

the British should stand aside from them. After the death of the old Afghan Amir, Dost Mohammed, there was a fiercely disputed succession. Lawrence refused to give British support to any claimant; any one who made himself ruler would be recognised as ruler, but the British would neither set up nor pull down.

2. India and Afghanistan, 1865-76.

Lawrence's policy was followed by his next successors, Lord Mayo (1869-72) and Lord Northbrook (1872-76). The Amir, who had finally established himself at Kabul was Sher Ali. Sher Ali was nervous about Russia. Mayo made him understand that there could not be an alliance by which the British would be bound to supply him with money and troops if he got himself into trouble, but that if trouble was forced on him help would certainly be forthcoming. Mayo was a man who won every one's confidence, and Sher Ali trusted him; but Mayo was murdered in 1872. His successor, Lord Northbrook, meant what Mayo meant, but his manner was cold and stiff. Sher Ali became nervous again, as he had been while Lawrence was Viceroy. If he could not feel quite sure of British protection against Russia, it might be wise to cultivate Russian good-will.

Now there were many able men in India, especially military men, who did not believe as Lawrence believed that the north-west frontier was quite secure. Every one wanted to keep Afghanistan as a buffer between Russia and India, friendly to Britain and unfriendly to Russia. But it was hard to trust Afghanistan completely. This 'Forward School' wanted, first, a frontier so strongly guarded that it could defy any possible attack; secondly, one from which troops could be poured into Afghanistan; and thirdly, some one at Kabul who would keep the Indian Government informed about what was going on there. In short, they wanted an improved frontier and a Resident at Kabul. But if the frontier were strengthened, the Afghans would suspect that the real purpose was the conquest of Afghanistan, and they were certain also to think that a British Resident would act as the Amir's master; Afghanistan would at once become hostile to the British, and would seek friendship with Russia. No one could have suspected Lawrence or Mayo or Northbrook of such designs; but the Beaconsfield Government in England looked at Indian questions with the eyes of the Forward School. Northbrook, who had been appointed by Gladstone, was instructed by Salisbury to press a British Resident on Sher Ali; thereupon he resigned, and was succeeded as Viceroy by Lord Lytton (1876).

The Forward Policy, 1876-9.

Now Beaconsfield had designed one of those strokes which were apt to surprise and puzzle Englishmen. He was sure (and he was quite right) that the people of India would prefer being ruled by an Empress to being ruled by a Queen. Most people in England were rather annoyed by the Act which in this year gave the Queen the new title of Empress of India. But all sorts of display, pageantry, ceremony, high-sounding titles appeal to Orientals though they seem to Englishmen generally more absurd than magnificent. So one of the first things Lytton had to do was to hold (on 1st January 1877) a great and costly 'Durbar,' a vast assembly of princes and people, to proclaim the 'Empress of India.' Beaconsfield proved to be right and the English people wrong. In a very short time there were few who doubted that Indian loyalty was greatly strengthened.

Victoria Empress of India, 1877.

Before, and immediately after, the Durbar, Lytton was urging Sher Ali to agree that a British Resident should be sent to Kabul, much to his alarm and annoyance. The Afghans were further disturbed because the British acquired the fortress of Quetta in Baluchistan, at the head of the Bolan Pass, the gate between India and southern Afghanistan. For the rest of the year the question of a Resident was dropped; Russia was taken up with the Turkish War. Then in the spring of 1878 Beaconsfield was fighting the diplomatic battle which ended with the Berlin treaties in summer; and Russia, knowing her Turkish schemes to be defeated, was turning again to intrigues in Asia. The Indian Government learnt that the Amir was receiving a Russian 'mission' at Kabul.

Lord Lytton and Sher Ali, 1876-9.

That Sher Ali should have persistently refused to receive a British mission was bad enough; but this news must mean that he was throwing himself into Russia's arms. Sher Ali replying to Lytton's protest declared that the Russians had come to Kabul against his will, and had already retired. Lytton in effect answered that a British mission was on its way to Kabul. The British mission was met on the frontier, and was warned that it would be allowed to go no farther. The result was that in November (1878) not a mission but three columns of British troops were entering Afghanistan by the Khaibar, Karam, and Bolan passes.

Sher Ali fled, leaving his son Yakub Khan in charge. Yakub submitted, and by the treaty of Gandamak, in May (1879), a British Resident (Sir Louis Cavagnari) and his suite were admitted to Kabul. On 3rd September they were massacred.

Six weeks later a British force under Sir Frederick Roberts was in Kabul. Yakub had hastened to meet them and seek their protection; he was in fear of his life, and was or professed to be guiltless of the massacre which had been the work of the Kabul mob. Now he made Roberts governor in his name. But Roberts was in command of only a small force in the midst of an armed and hostile population. All he could do was to entrench himself at Sherpur, near Kabul, and hold on. Afghan attacks were beaten off, and they met with a heavy defeat in December.

3. The Second Afghan War, 1879-80.

Meanwhile Sir Donald Stewart's column was back at Kandahar, from which it was retiring at the time of the Kabul rising. In March (1880) he left a garrison at Kandahar from which he marched up to join Roberts, routing an Afghan force by the way, at Ahmed Kehl. But now there was no Amir at all; Yakub Khan was obviously incapable; his brother Ayub Khan at Herat was hostile; and another claimant, a cousin, Abdur Rhaman, was in the field—a man who had been in exile in Russian territory, but had by no means learnt to love the Russians. It seemed that he would have to be the British candidate.

Ayub Khan resolved to strike for himself; not at Kabul but at Kandahar. Thither he marched. The garrison came out to meet him and met with a heavy defeat at Maiwand in July, just when the British had decided to acknowledge Abdur Rhaman as Amir. The garrison was shut up in Kandahar again. A fortnight after Maiwand Roberts started from Kabul with ten thousand men to relieve it. They vanished. Nothing more was heard of them till the twentieth day, when they appeared near Kandahar, in perfect condition, though in the three weeks they had marched three hundred miles through a hostile, barren, and exceedingly difficult country—a very brilliant feat. Three days later Roberts completely crushed Ayub's forces at the battle of Kandahar.

End of the war, 1880.

Meanwhile in England Beaconsfield had fallen and Gladstone had become Prime Minister. The Liberal party was opposed to the Forward Policy; Lytton was recalled, and Lord Ripon took his place. The new Government returned to the earlier policy; Abdur Rhaman was acknowledged as Amir—an Amir who was not to be cajoled by Russian pretences of good-will, but would submit to no sort of control from the British. In return for a limited support and their complete evacuation of Afghanistan, they might rely on him to keep Russia at arm's length. There were border districts

4. Abdur Rhaman.

occupied by hill tribes which they might take under their control, with advantage to him; but within his own borders he would have no interference, no British forts, no British Resident. The understanding was carried out to the full by both the Amir and the British. A military risk was involved; but the alternative was the permanent occupation of Kandahar with a large and costly force, and the permanent hostility of all Afghanistan to the British. Abdur Rhaman established himself—unaided—as master of Afghanistan with complete success. He never loved the British, but policy kept him loyal to them because he loved the Russians still less.

One more incident has to be recorded in this connection. Britain, Russia, and Afghanistan agreed in 1884 that a joint Commission should fix the boundaries between their dominions where they were in dispute. In the course of the Commission's work there was a collision between Russian and Afghan troops at Penjdeh (1885), the Russians being the aggressors. For a moment it seemed that the Amir would call upon Britain for support which could not and would not be refused, and there would be a big war. But Abdur Rhaman was too wise; if once a big war began there was no saying where it would end, and his own country would suffer whatever came of it. The Russian Government was allowed to explain away the incident, a compromise was reached on the particular point which had brought it about, and the whole affair blew over.

Penjdeh, 1885.

At the time of the Penjdeh incident Lord Ripon had already been succeeded by a new Viceroy, Lord Dufferin. In Ripon's term of office, a most well-intentioned measure unhappily revived racial ill-feeling between natives and English. The Viceroy was very sympathetic towards the natives; it seemed that the time had come when barriers between them and the ruling race might be gradually removed. Social barriers were a matter of custom, not of law; Government could have nothing to do with them. But the English had legal privileges which, as he thought, had ceased to be necessary, and seemed only to make more marked the fact that a small number of Europeans were ruling over a very large number of Asiatics. Thus in the law courts Europeans could only be tried by European juries. Lord Ripon proposed to do away with this privilege; but this roused a storm of indignation in the European community, nearly all of whom believed that without the privileges their position among the natives would become intolerable. Lord Ripon was hotly denounced; the native press retorted; and the measure which is commonly known as

Lord Ripon, 1880-4.

the Ilbert Bill (from the name of the eminent lawyer who had not proposed it but had put it into shape) in some ways started the agitation for Indian reforms of which little had hitherto been heard.

III. The British Empire: South Africa and Egypt, 1869-1886.

The Cape, the Zulus, and the Transvaal—*Egypt*: the Dual Control and Arabi Pasha—The British Occupation and the Sudan.

1. The Cape.

Ever since the Cape Colony was ceded by Holland to Britain, two problems had always been present—how to deal with the Dutch, and how to deal with the Kaffirs. Both remained, though the Dutch had formed their two separate republics beyond the Orange and still farther off beyond the Vaal. Since the colonisation of Natal more Kaffir tribes had been brought under direct British administration, but others were still under the rule of their tribal chiefs; and above all, on the north-east the Zulu kingdom was a real power highly trained for war in the Kaffir methods.

Diamond fields, 1869.

About the time when Gladstone's first ministry came into office, diamond fields were discovered near the Orange River. They were claimed by the Orange Free State, but the Cape Government bought them up from a Griqua, who seemed to be the owner. This was later found to have been a mistake, and a sum of money was paid over to the Free State as compensation; but the British kept the diamond fields. This was important, apart from the diamonds, because later it enabled them to push up into what is now Rhodesia past the two Boer republics—which otherwise would have blocked the way.

Transvaal annexed, 1877.

Then when the Beaconsfield Government was in power in England serious troubles began to arise between the Transvaal Boers and a powerful Basuto chief. There was a danger that the Boers might be wiped out, if war got fairly started; and if Basutos and Zulus joined hands it might become a general Kaffir war to exterminate the white man. A British commissioner, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, was sent up to see what should be done. He was of opinion that the only way to safety was by annexing the Transvaal; the Basutos would hesitate to attack it if it was part of the British Colony. Also he imagined that a majority of white men in the Transvaal would prefer a strong British Government to the Boer Government. For while the Orange Free State was being

particularly well managed, in the Transvaal there was no money and very little government of any kind. So in 1877, just before the Russo-Turkish War broke out in Europe, the Transvaal was annexed.

Now there came to South Africa as High Commissioner—a sort of special Governor-General—a statesman of great experience in India, Sir Bartle Frere. From his knowledge of India he judged that the 'paramount power' in Africa must act as it acted in India—with justice always, but always as a master whose orders must be obeyed if mere advice was blindly rejected. On annexing the Transvaal, the British had to take over the settlement of some disputes between the Boers and the Zulu king Cetewayo. At the same time it seemed that Cetewayo was reviving in his very military state certain extremely barbarous rules and practices, which could only mean that he was planning war with some one. The Paramount Power must put a stop to this at any cost, even though the home Government, with its attention fixed on Russia, paid no attention to warnings that more troops were required in South Africa. Protests to Cetewayo proved vain. At the end of 1878 Frere sent a positive demand that the practices complained of should cease, and that a British Resident should be received at Cetewayo's principal 'town'—Ulundi.

Zululand, 1878.

Cetewayo was given a month to answer. No answer came, and in January (1879) a British force from Natal entered Zulu territory. A great part of it was surprised and cut to pieces in its camp at Isandhlwana by the Zulus—who, however, were held up from invading Natal by a small party which had been left at Rorke's Drift. The disaster delayed operations; it was not till mid-summer, after large reinforcements had at last arrived, that the Zulu forces were shattered at Ulundi. Cetewayo was captured; attempts to restore some sort of native government under various Zulu chiefs proved unsuccessful; and Zululand was finally annexed in 1887.

Zulu War, 1879.

The destruction of the Zulu army and the Zulu military system removed the menace which had been the real justification for annexing the Transvaal. The Boer citizens or 'burghers' of the Republic had always resented the annexation, believing that they were quite able to take care of themselves. When the Beaconsfield Government fell in 1880, they expected the Liberals to restore the Republic; but it seemed at first that they were mistaken, though in fact before the end of the year instructions for a restoration were on their way to South Africa. Unaware of this, the Boers rose in arms and proclaimed their independence. In January a small

The Transvaal, 1880-1.

British force advanced from Natal against the rebels. It met with a reverse at Laing's Nek, and a month later was wiped out at Majuba Hill.

Now the Gladstone Government had made up its mind that the annexation—except as a measure of protection which was no longer needed—had been wrong, and the rebels were actually in the right. That fact was not altered by the defeat of British troops; to punish the rebels therefore would be wrong. They stopped military operations, and restored the independent Transvaal Republic. Unfortunately neither the public in general nor the Boers in particular believed that such high moral principles were the real reasons for the 'retrocession.' The Boers thought they had thrashed the British, and the British were afraid of them. And out of that conviction grave troubles were to arise in the future.

Retrocession, 1881.

THE British public was still fuming over the humiliating events of 1881 when in the summer of 1882 it was surprised to learn that a British naval squadron was bombarding Alexandria, apparently a strange proceeding on the part of a Government whose opponents habitually denounced it as seeking 'Peace at any price.' Why had it begun fighting in Egypt? We have to go back some years to find the explanation.

2. Egypt, 1882.

Egypt was nominally a province of the Turkish Empire; but for forty years it had been practically an independent State ruled by the Khedive. Ever since the temporary conquest by Napoleon I. France had hankered for Egypt; which Tsar Nicholas in his scheme for the partition of the Turkish Empire had proposed as the British share. Britain had declined the scheme of partition. But it was a Frenchman, Lesseps, not the British, who conceived the idea of cutting a canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, through the isthmus of Suez, thus opening a short sea route to India to take the place of the voyage round the Cape. Palmerston had scoffed at the plan, but the Khedive had allowed Lesseps to carry it out. The Canal was opened in 1869. The Khedive Ismail was the biggest shareholder in the company which owned it; the French stood next, and were inclined to regard themselves as the real owners, until in 1875 Disraeli purchased Ismail's shares for the British Government, which thus owned much more than the French shareholders.

The Suez Canal, 1869.

Disraeli had the chance of buying those shares because Ismail was in need of ready money, being enormously in debt to British, French,

and other persons from whom he had borrowed huge sums. He had borrowed, because on the one hand he was very extravagant, and on the other because the Egyptian Government's method of raising and collecting taxes was so corrupt that, though the taxes were very heavy, very little money found its way to the Treasury. Things were so bad that the Khedive's creditors, afraid of never being paid what they had lent him, insisted that the Egyptian finances must be put under the control of a board of foreign commissioners appointed by the creditors—mainly British and French. The system thus set up was known as the Dual Control. Control of finances meant interference with government generally. Egyptian officials could no longer pocket huge sums for doing nothing. Naturally they hated the foreigners, whom Ismail and his son Tewfik after him found so useful; and so plotting began, to get rid of the foreigners and recover 'Egypt for the Egyptians.'

The dual control.

The plotters—who were generally not Egyptians at all, but Mohammedan subjects of Turkey from other parts of the Empire—made a tool of one of the army commanders, Arabi Pasha. In 1882 Tewfik found himself unable to resist them. It looked as if they meant to bring about mob-risings in Alexandria, and massacre the foreign Christians; both French and British Governments sent naval squadrons to be ready to act in case of accidents. On 11th June the mob in Alexandria rose. Arabi and his troops were evidently on their side. The British admiral, Sir Beauchamp Seymour, saw that it was time to interfere; the French admiral refused to support him and sailed away. Seymour on his own responsibility bombarded the forts and entered the town.

Arabi, 1882.

There was nothing for it after that but that the British should take matters into their own hands and restore order—with Tewfik's approval. Arabi and the army were practically in rebellion against the Khedive. An expedition was dispatched under Sir Garnet Wolseley from England; it shattered the rebel army at Tel-el-Kebir (13th September). Arabi was captured, tried for treason, and sent away to Ceylon.

No one could question the right of Britain to keep control in her own hands. Tewfik could not possibly carry on and keep order by himself. Other Powers which had looked on while she did the work of stopping anarchy could not now claim a right to interfere. But she did not want to annex Egypt, though she wanted the country to be

firmly and vigorously ruled by a Government under British influence. And so the British 'occupation' began, with the promise and the honest intention of withdrawing as soon as Egypt had learnt to govern herself properly. Meanwhile the administration must be under British direction — to the extreme displeasure of France, who at Alexandria had thrown away her opportunity of sharing in the Egyptian settlement on equal terms with Britain.

3. The British occupation, 1883.

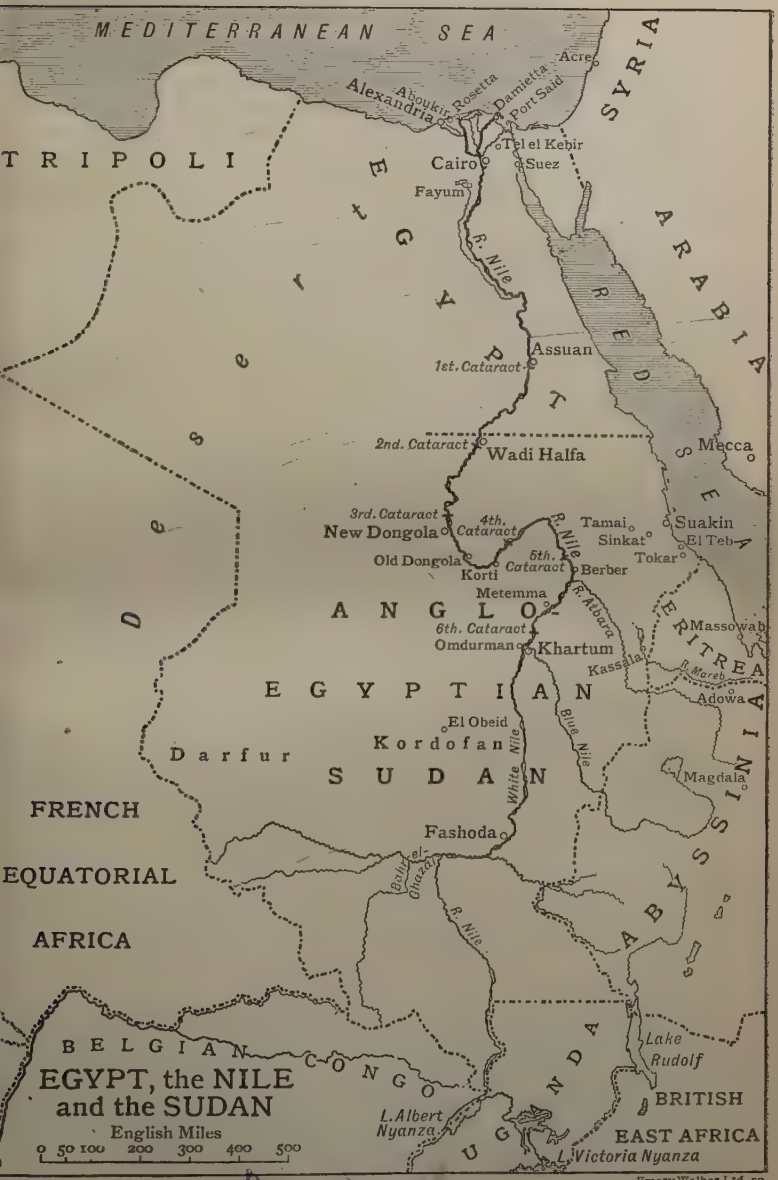
The British then remained in Egypt as Tewfik's advisers. After a short interval, Sir Evelyn Baring—better known as Lord Cromer—became the real governor of Egypt, and her army was reorganised first by Sir Evelyn Wood, and later by Sir Herbert Kitchener. But that is a later story. It was a long business, and serious events were to happen before it had well begun.

Egypt proper is the basin of the Lower Nile between Wadi Halfa (at the 'second Cataract' and the Mediterranean. The Upper Nile flows through the Egyptian Sudan—the eastern part of a huge district called the Sudan. We shall use the name for the Egyptian part. The Khedive claimed to be sovereign over the Sudan, in which garrisons were planted at a few places. But he had very little control over the wild tribes by which it was inhabited—fanatical Mohammedans, very barbarous, many of whom were active slave-traders. In this country there arose a new Prophet calling himself the Mahdi, the successor of Mohammed, who was to restore the Pure Faith and its dominion in the world. The Sudanese tribes believed in him and flocked to his standard. It seemed that he would presently set about the conquest of Egypt. The Egyptian Government had to choose between making a conquest which would really establish its authority in the Sudan, and withdrawing its garrisons, content for the present to hold a secure frontier between the Sudan and Egypt. It was impossible for it to do the first. To withdraw the garrisons, however, was an extremely difficult task, and that task was therefore entrusted to General Charles George Gordon, who knew the Sudanese and some of their most influential chiefs, and had a quite extraordinary influence over such people.

The Sudan, 1883.

General Gordon, 1884.

Gordon was one of those rare persons who when left to themselves can accomplish what would be impossible to any one else—but must go their own way; as subordinates under orders they are impracticable. Gordon undertook the task of withdrawing the Sudan garrisons; but having got into the Sudan he decided that the thing to be done was to



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'smash' the Mahdi. To withdraw the garrisons without a strong armed force would be hard enough; to smash the Mahdi was humanly speaking impossible. But there was no Egyptian army fit for the job, and Gordon was aware from the beginning that no British expedition was to be sent. With very few companions, and some almost worthless Egyptian troops, he reached Khartum, and there he was shut up in March 1884.

It was a question now of 'withdrawing' not the garrisons but Gordon himself, who had suddenly and quite deservedly become a hero in the eyes of the British people. The public would have supported the Government in sending a big expedition to be placed under Gordon's control and to do whatever he required. But the Government could not put itself unreservedly into Gordon's hands. It prepared an expedition to rescue him, but was satisfied that there was no hurry. Wolseley left England to take command in September. The new year had begun before an advanced column reached Metemma in January 1885. Still believing that there was no hurry, it paused four days to make sure of its ground, and then advanced on Khartum—to find that the place had been stormed two days before, and Gordon was dead. Conquest, even vengeance, was not possible—yet. The Sudan was left to the Mahdi.

Fall of Khartum, 1885.

Here we must add that these events were taking place just at the moment when Europe was suddenly becoming conscious that only the fringe of Africa was in European occupation; there were still three-fourths of the Dark Continent to be shared out. At the end of 1884 a conference of the Powers came to a preliminary agreement for dividing Africa up into 'spheres of influence' within which each would be free to act without interference from the rest.

Spheres of influence.

IV. Great Britain and Ireland: 1869-1880.

Ireland, 1869-70—Gladstone's Domestic Legislation—Conservative Rule, 1874-80.

At the end of 1868 the General Election returned a Liberal majority in the House of Commons, largely because the party was supported by the newly enfranchised artisans in the towns; in Ireland there was no similar class, and the elections therefore were hardly affected. Gladstone entered upon office as the reforming head of a reforming party, pledged in the first place to do away with

1. Gladstone and Ireland.

one long-standing grievance of the Irish people—the Protestant Church Establishment in a country where the great majority of the people were Roman Catholics.

The Disestablishment of the Irish Church was therefore the great measure of 1869. The Church lost all the privileges it had enjoyed by law, as compared with the Roman Catholic or Nonconformist bodies. Endowments were a more difficult matter. Before the Reformation in the sixteenth century, there had only been one Church to which all endowments for religious purposes belonged. The Reformation split the Church in two; the law recognised as 'the Church' only that part of it which accepted the legislative authority of the State and rejected the authority of Rome. Buildings, property of any kind which had belonged to the Church, all in the eyes of the law belonged only to this Protestant Church. When afterwards distinct religious bodies separated themselves from it, they also cut themselves away from its endowments as well as its other privileges. Yet the religious endowments before the Reformation had been given for religious purposes not to a Protestant Church but to the one and only Church to which the whole people belonged. Not a quarter of the people belonged to this Reformed Church, therefore it was grossly unfair that it should keep those endowments. On the other hand, the clergy had given up their lives to the service of the Church, legally assured of their maintenance out of the endowments; to take away that maintenance would be grossly unfair to them. In the end, the Act took away the sources of the endowments, tithes and so on, but provided in return the incomes of the clergy for life and a substantial sum for carrying on the Church's work; what remained was taken over by the State to be applied to education and other kindred purposes. But the Church felt that it had been robbed of something, property dedicated to the service of religion; the Roman Catholics were not conscious of having gained anything; and Protestants and Catholics remained no less hostile than before.

The Irish Church.

The Disestablishment, 1869.

NEXT year, 1870, a Land Bill at last tried to deal with the Land grievance. In Ireland nearly all tenants were 'tenants-at-will'—they could legally be turned out of their holdings at the landlord's will, with very short notice. If they had spent money or labour on improving their holdings, they could claim no compensation for it if they were turned out; it was the land-

The First Land Act, 1870.

lord who got the benefit. In Ulster, however, it had become the custom for landlords to let the tenant have the benefit of his improvements, to let him sell his rights in his holding to some one else if he wished to leave, and not to drive him into leaving by raising the rent. The Bill gave to tenants everywhere by law the rights which in Ulster alone were practically secured to them, though only by custom, not as legal rights; and it also provided public money which a tenant could borrow if he wished to buy his holding from the landlord, and so become the owner of it himself. In spite of the promise of the Bill, however, agrarian outrages had been increasing so much since the last Fenian disturbance that a 'Peace Preservation Act' was also passed, giving increased powers to the magistrates and the police for arresting and punishing suspected persons. It was an invariable rule that every measure of 'Coercion,' whether necessary or not, was regarded as an act of injustice, and at once nipped in the bud any feeling of goodwill which might have been born of conciliatory measures.

Coercion.

REFORMS, however, were required in Great Britain as well as in Ireland. If manual workers were to have the vote they ought to have the education which would fit them to exercise it wisely. Voluntary societies, especially the Church 'National Society,' were already doing as much as was in their power, but it was not nearly enough. If anything like a sufficient number of schools were to be run, it must be done by the State with public money; and if it was done with public money, the State must be responsible for the teaching; therefore the teaching must be under State control. So far the State had only given a little help to the 'voluntary' schools; the help had begun with a grant of £20,000 in 1833, which had risen to £500,000 in 1869, but that was only a step in preparation for Forster's Education Act in 1870.

2. England: Education Act, 1870.

By this Act the voluntary schools were to continue, with aid from Government grants, managed by the societies on whose money they mainly depended. But a sufficient number of new schools were to be built and paid for, partly by Government grants, partly out of rates levied for the purpose in each locality, and managed in each by a school board elected by the ratepayers, subject to regulations laid down by the State. All children up to the age of thirteen would have to go to school, and their parents (as with the voluntary schools) would also have to pay a contribution. Since children of every religion would

have to attend them, the religion taught in them must not be that of any particular church, sect, or 'denomination'; it must be 'undenominational,' such as practically all Protestants, whether Churchmen or Nonconformists, were agreed upon; the Bible must be the only text-book.

More reforms followed in 1871 and 1872. The artisan class, taught by the big unions in the more skilled trades, had been learning in the last twenty years to believe that unions of workmen strong enough to bargain with employers on equal terms, would do more to increase the welfare of the manual labourer than legislation about wages and hours. But while the law remained as it stood, the unions could not be strong enough to bargain successfully. A union in the sight of the law was merely a collection of individuals, having no rights as a body. An inquiry had lately been held into the conduct of unions because of the violence and outrages of which some employers and non-union men had been victims, but the character of the greater unions had been completely cleared; and the union leaders expected the Liberals to give them the legal rights they were demanding. The Government, however, only allowed them to be registered as societies—which gave them more protection than the employers liked, but much less than they considered their due, and the result was that in 1874 they voted for Conservatives instead of Liberals.

Trade Unions, 1872.

In 1871 army reforms of importance, and long needed—'Cardwell's reforms'—were made. The wonderful organisation of the German army had just proved that something must be done. One change was the introduction of 'short service.' In the old system a man joined up for twelve years, and usually for nine years more; once a soldier, always a soldier. After twenty years it was very difficult to take up other work, so that it was difficult to get the best kind of men to enlist. Under short service a man joined up for six years, and then went into the 'special reserve,' which meant taking up civil employment while still liable (for another six years) to be called up if war was threatening. Many more men were ready to enlist on those terms, so that there were still as many with the colours as before, while there was also a big reserve of trained men who could be called up if they were needed.

Army reforms, 1871.

In this year, too, a change was made—which the Chartists had clamoured for long ago—in parliamentary elections. The ballot, or secret voting, took the place of open voting. Before, every one could find out which candidate a man had voted for; many had been afraid to vote as they wished for fear of losing

Ballot Act, 1872.

customers who were on the other side, or losing employment, or otherwise suffering at the hands of their neighbours. With the ballot every man could vote as he thought right without fear of the consequences.

Meanwhile taxation had been reduced, and at the same time debt had been paid off. But the Government's measures had irritated large classes—some because they had been deprived of privileges, others because they had gained less than they expected. A country which had so long applauded Palmerston felt that Gladstone's foreign policy was tame and weak. When Parliament was dissolved in 1874, the Conservatives came back with a solid majority. Not long afterwards Gladstone went into partial retirement, leaving the leadership of the Liberals to Lord Hartington (the heir of the Duke of Devonshire) in the Commons, and Earl Granville (who had been Gladstone's foreign minister) in the Lords.

Defeat, 1874.

DISRAELI, as was remarked in an earlier chapter, had none of the old Conservative dread of democracy. He had himself brought in the 'democratic' Reform Bill of 1867. He meant the working men to believe that the Conservatives were better friends for them than the Liberals, and he believed himself that they would soon learn to follow a Conservative leader who would reform their real grievances without making drastic changes. So in 1875 the Conservatives gave the trade unions what the Liberals had refused, and in particular the right of 'peaceful picketing'; that is, when a strike was going on, they were allowed to station men outside to dissuade non-union men from coming in the place of the strikers to carry on their job.

3. Conservative reforms, 1874-80.

Trade Unions, 1875.

The objection to this had been that any 'dissuasion' was really intimidation; a man who had been stopped by a picket would feel that if he went on in spite of their arguments he would be a marked man, sure to suffer for it sooner or later, however peacefully they might talk to him. Then again it was quite in accordance with Conservative tradition that they passed a Nine Hours Act for women in cotton factories. Indeed it was generally true that from 1832 to 1869 the strength of the Conservatives had lain among landowners and farmers, that of the Liberals among the manufacturers, the employers of mechanical labour; and as a natural consequence legislation for the industrial workers' benefit, which seemed to be at the expense of employers, had owed more to members of the Conservative than of the Liberal party.

Neither party was as yet inclined to go far in interfering with 'freedom of contract,' though Gladstone's Irish Land Act had been a big step in that direction. So now, though there was a little legislation on behalf of rural tenants and industrial workers, it was all what is called 'permissive'; that is, the two parties, landlord and tenant or employer and employee, could make a legal agreement that they would not be bound by the new law. This was called 'contracting out.' But as it meant that in very nearly all cases the landlord or employer could insist on contracting out, permissive legislation was of little real use to tenants and employees.

Contracting out.

In 1875 there were two such measures, the Agricultural Holdings Act, which gave the tenant a right to compensation for improvements made by him on his holding, unless landlord and tenant had contracted out; and the Artisans' Dwellings Act, which gave town corporations power to buy up land for the building of decent habitations, but did not require them to do so. After 1875 Disraeli's Government did nothing more; it was too much taken up with the European, Indian, and South African affairs which have already been described.

Ireland, however, was again becoming troublesome while Beaconsfield was still Prime Minister. A 'Home Rule' party had been formed in Ireland after the Fenian failure, its demands being much like O'Connell's of old. There were fifty-eight Home Rulers in the Commons. Since the Government would not listen to them, one of them, Charles Stewart Parnell, began a policy of deliberate 'obstruction' in Parliament, in order to make it difficult for the House to get on with any business. In 1878 Parnell—himself a Protestant landlord—not only became the leader of the Home Rule party in the Commons, but started in Ireland the Land League (of which he was president) to resist the existing land laws, and to use the agrarian problem in Ireland as a lever to force the Government into giving Ireland at least a separate Parliament of her own.

The Home Rulers.

Though Beaconsfield came home bringing 'Peace with Honour' after the Berlin Congress in the summer of 1878, the public was by no means united in approval of his foreign policy. The popularity of his rule was damaged by the disaster at Isandhlwana (February 1879). Lytton's 'Forward Policy' in India recalled the old blundering Afghan policy of 1839-41, all the more when the Resident and his suite at Kabul were cut to pieces in September. When Parliament was dissolved in April 1880 the General Election once more returned Gladstone to power with a big Liberal majority at his back.

Fall of the Cabinet, 1880.

V. Great Britain and Ireland: 1880-1886.

The 'Eighty' Parliament—The Third Reform Bill, 1884-85—Gladstone and Parnell, 1880-85—End of the 'Eighty' Parliament.

ALTHOUGH when Palmerston died Earl Russell was the nominal head of the Liberal party and Lord Derby of the Conservatives, the real rivalry had from that time been between their lieutenants, Gladstone and Disraeli. Both the old earls retired in 1868. British party politics for the next twelve years were a great duel between the two younger chiefs; but in 1880 both were now over seventy. Beaconsfield retired after his defeat and died twelve months later, leaving the leadership of the party to Lord Salisbury in the Lords, and Sir Stafford Northcote in the Commons. Gladstone had come out of his retirement to resume the active leadership of the Liberals which he retained for another thirteen years.

1. The new Government.

But the character of both parties was changed as a result of the Second Reform Act. There was no 'Labour party' as yet; both parties wanted the support of the artisan class, and both became much more inclined to see justice in the wants and wishes of the class which till 1868 had no voice in electing the House of Commons. In both, however, there was still a big section which clung to the old traditions and feared that the just rights of 'property' were in danger from the political influence of the new electors who had very little property; this among the Liberals was the 'Whig' section. In both there was a section, much larger among the Liberals than among the Conservatives, which had no fear of 'democracy'; these were the 'Radical' section of the Liberals. The Conservative leader, Lord Salisbury, disliked and feared democracy, believing that the country would be best ruled by the old governing class; but he saw that the House of Commons was a democratic body, and he regarded it as the particular business or 'function' of the House of Lords to use its constitutional powers as a check upon the democratic chamber.

Parties.

Gladstone combined Whigs and Radicals in his ministry, in which there were more Whigs than Radicals, though among the rank and file of the party in the Commons there were more Radicals than Whigs.

There were various groups throughout the country which had voted Liberal partly because they wanted some particular grievance remedied, and they were more likely to get what they wanted from a reforming than

from a Conservative Government, though they generally wanted much more than any Government was likely to give. Temperance reformers wished for legislation which would compel people to be sober; Nonconformists wished for legislation to abolish what they regarded as unjust privileges and the clergy regarded as the just rights of the established Church. Workmen still wished to be in a stronger position for bargaining with employers. Not much came of these demands. The clergy were annoyed by a 'Burials Bill' which allowed Nonconformists to be buried in the parish churchyard with their own funeral service instead of that of the Church of England. Employers were made liable to provide compensation for workmen injured in their service; but they were allowed to contract out. The fact was that at the start the attention of the general public and of the Government was fixed on the Afghan question, a year later on the Boer question, in 1882 on the Egyptian question which became still more critical in 1884; and all the time the Government was faced and hampered at every turn by the Irish problem and by Irish 'obstruction.' Domestic legislation had very little chance.

Group within party.

Domestic legislation, 1880-4.

In 1884, however, Gladstone took up a question he was definitely pledged to deal with—the completion of the 1867 Reform Act by the admission of the rural as well as the town labourer to the franchise.

If the town labourer had a right to the vote the only reason for refusing it to the rural labourer was that he was not yet enough educated to be fit to exercise it. Though Conservatives might dislike any extension of the franchise, their leaders were aware that it must come, and they were also inclined to think that the rural labourer would vote Conservative. The party was not prepared to oppose a Franchise Bill. But if a huge number of voters were to be added to the electorate, it would be necessary to have also a 'Redistribution Bill' to rearrange the constituencies, so as to keep them reasonably balanced. This might be done in such a way that the party in power could almost make sure of a majority for a generation to come. The Conservatives, led by Lord Salisbury, refused to pass the Bill through the Lords without a Redistribution Bill. To the Government this seemed to be a trick to force them to appeal to the country at the moment when their Egyptian policy was making them unpopular. A stormy quarrel rose between the Peers and the Commons; Radical leaders proclaimed

2. The agricultural labourer, 1884.

Franchise and Redistribution.

up and down the country that the Peers, a mere instrument permanently in the hands of one party, were seeking to kill a measure which the voice of the nation demanded; the House of Lords must be 'mended or ended.'

The storm blew over. Neither Gladstone nor Salisbury wanted a big battle over the House of Lords. As a matter of fact, Redistribution and Franchise extension ought to go through together. Finally, the leaders agreed that they should jointly shape a Redistribution Bill on lines favouring neither one party nor the other, and then the two Bills should go through together. The new Bill abolished some old constituencies, altered the boundaries of others, increased or diminished the number of members returned by particular counties or boroughs; but the real change it made was that, with very few exceptions, each constituency was to return one member only. Thus a big borough which had been one constituency returning two candidates was divided into two or three or more constituencies returning one candidate apiece, and the counties were treated in the same way.

A compromise.

When the leaders had come to terms the Franchise Bill was passed through the Commons, and then through all but its last stage or 'third reading' in the Lords; and then the final stage was passed as soon as the 'second reading' of the Redistribution Bill was carried in the Commons (November 1884), though all the exact details still had to be discussed and settled in 'Committee.' This was such a long business—as there were members on both sides who objected to what their leaders had agreed upon—that the Redistribution Act was not finally passed till June 1885. With a new electorate which in Ireland as well as in England included the agricultural labourer, the Irish problem became more acute than ever.

The Bills passed, 1884-5.

FROM the opening of the Parliament the Irish had not ceased to give endless trouble to every one responsible for maintaining law and order in Ireland, and to the Government and the House of Commons at Westminster. Parnell had come back, after the election in 1880, at the head of a small but extremely efficient party of sixty Home Rulers—always spoken of as 'the Irish Members,' though they numbered less than two-thirds of the members from Ireland. How many of them wanted complete separation from the British Empire, and how many wanted only a separate Irish Parliament to deal with purely Irish affairs, nobody

3. Ireland, 1880-5.

The Home Rulers.

knew. But they were all determined to force the Government to give that separate Parliament; determined to prove that Ireland would no longer endure the existing system, obey rulers appointed under that system, or be satisfied with any laws made for them at Westminster. Meanwhile till they got what they wanted, they would obstruct business in Parliament, and force perpetually to the front anything which could be called an Irish grievance—especially every sort of coercion. And in Ireland their Land League was organising every kind of resistance to the landlords' legal power of ejecting tenants, while the tenants themselves obeyed the orders of the League in defiance of the legal authorities—except when they preferred those of some secret revolutionary society with its headquarters in America. With most of the population either actively on the side of the law-breakers or much more afraid of them (and therefore ready to shelter them) than of the legal authorities, the law could only be enforced by methods which in any other circumstances every one would agree in denouncing as tyrannical; while any one who was successfully brought to punishment was popularly applauded as the innocent victim of unholy oppression.

The Land League.

The Government began with an attempt to protect the interests of tenants (the 'Compensation for Disturbance Bill'), which the Parnellites denounced as useless and the Conservatives as a flagrant injustice to the landlords. The Land League started a new campaign against unpopular landlords by 'boycotting' them—no one would work for them or sell them the goods they required. The last Coercion Act, a measure which was only to be in force for a fixed period, ran out; it had done something to check the agrarian outrages, which at once broke out again. New Coercion Bills were brought in (1881), which were furiously denounced by the Parnellites. A new Land Bill proposed to set up a land court which should fix rents at a fair rate; the tenants were told that the court would always favour the landlord. The outrages went on. Parnell and his colleagues did not expressly encourage them, but would not openly denounce them.

Well-meant efforts, 1880-1.

The exasperated Government arrested and imprisoned Parnell and some other leaders in Kilmainham prison. The Land League retorted by calling upon tenants to pay no rents till the leaders were released. Then the Land League was suppressed, by being proclaimed an unlawful association. Outrages multiplied. But the imprisoned men were set free, against the judg-

The Phœnix Park Murder, 1881.

ment of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, W. E. Forster, who thereupon resigned. The Government in releasing them understood that in return they would exert themselves to check lawlessness; but there was no actual bargain, though they were denounced for making what was called the 'Kilmainham Treaty' with men who were held responsible for the outrages. The new Chief Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, was murdered in the Phœnix Park, in Dublin, a few hours after his landing in Ireland.

A fresh Coercion or Crimes Act followed (1882) as a matter of course, coupled, however, with an 'Arrears' Act for the benefit of tenants who were in arrear with their rent. Government paid up half the arrears, and the landlords surrendered the other half. The Crimes Act was opposed by the Parnellites, the Arrears Act by the Conservatives. But, though outrages went on, Lord Frederick Cavendish's murderers were captured and convicted. On the other hand, a new 'National League' took the place of the suppressed Land League. Still it was difficult to show that League or leaders were actually breaking the law, and there was a lull in the violence of the agitation during 1883 and 1884.

A lull, 1882-5.

The Government in 1884 had achieved no startling popular successes. At the beginning of 1885, the fall of Khartum, followed by the Penjdeh incident, weighed heavily against it. Some of its Whig supporters disliked both its interference between landlord and tenant in Ireland, and the agitation against the House of Lords—over the Franchise Bill—which had been led by a Radical member of the Cabinet, Joseph Chamberlain, whom at that time most Conservatives regarded as a dangerous revolutionary. When during the early summer the Government was accidentally defeated on a clause in the budget, Gladstone willingly resigned.

4. Government changes, 1885.

Lord Salisbury then formed a Conservative ministry to carry on, as Parliament could not well be dissolved till a General Election could take place on the 'new register'; that is, in which the new electors could vote in the rearranged constituencies. He could not of course carry any measures in the teeth of the Liberal majority. An Act, however, was passed with general approval, known as the Ashbourne Act, to provide a large fund from which any Irish tenant could borrow the whole sum he would require to purchase his holding.

Salisbury Premier.

It seemed very probable that after the approaching election any

new Government whether Liberal or Conservative, would find it extremely difficult to carry on without the goodwill of the Irish members. During the autumn it appeared that leaders in both parties were making bids for Parnell's support, very little to the liking of many of their followers, while no one knew what plans either party as a whole would be invited by its chief to adopt. Parnell would ally himself with neither. When the election actually took place in November, just one-half of the members were Liberals; while of the other half, eighty-five—all but twenty—of the Irish members were Parnellite Home Rulers. The election had proved beyond question, for the first time, that a large majority of the Irish people were set upon the demand for a separate Irish Parliament.

General Election.

Salisbury at once made it clear that he intended to make no concessions to the Irish. Liberals and Irish united to defeat the ministry as soon as Parliament met in February 1886. Salisbury resigned, Gladstone became Prime Minister, and Home Rule became at once the leading question which shattered the Liberal party even more completely than the Conservative party had been shattered by Peel's change of front on the Corn Law question forty years before.

Gladstone Premier, 1886.

SUMMARIES

Acts of Parliament, 1869-1885.

Irish Church Disestablishment, 1869. Distinctive privileges of the Church withdrawn. Its endowments (except those later than the Reformation) taken by the State, but the clergy retained their incomes for life; the Church retained the Church buildings, and received from the State a substantial sum for carrying on its work.

Irish Land Act, 1870, established the Land Law on the model of the Ulster custom, giving a dispossessed tenant the benefit of improvements made by him on his holding; and providing a fund to assist tenants to purchase their holdings.

Forster's Education Act, 1870, made elementary education generally compulsory for children under thirteen. Retained the existing National or Voluntary Schools (supported by voluntary contributions, fees from parents, and Government grants); but added to them 'Board' schools in which compulsory rates took the place of voluntary contributions, under the management of local 'School Boards' elected by the ratepayers. The system of education in all was laid down by the Government, and all were to be subject to Government inspection. All were to give religious

instruction; but in the Board Schools it was to be undenominational—that is, no tenets distinctive of particular religious sects or 'denominations' were to be taught.

Trade Union Act, 1871, allowed Trade Unions to be registered as Societies, so that a Union could take legal proceedings against its officers, but could not itself have proceedings taken against it as a body on account of the actions of individual members. [At a later date the Judges pronounced that the legal meaning of the words of the Act was not what it was supposed to be when it was passed.]

Ballot Act, 1872, required voting by ballot at parliamentary elections, instead of open voting; so that no one could tell for which candidate a particular elector had voted. It was intended to stop bribery and intimidation of voters.

Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875, sanctioned 'peaceful picketing' or dissuading non-unionists from taking the places of union men when a 'strike' was going on.

Irish Land Act, 1881, set up a Land Court to fix fair rents, protected tenants against eviction except for breach of contract or failure to pay rent, and provided additional funds to assist tenants in purchasing their holdings.

(Third) Franchise and Redistribution Acts, 1884-5. Two connected Bills which became law together. Extended the county franchise so as to include the agricultural labourer; redivided the county (boroughs and counties) into constituencies, generally returning one member each, and abolished boroughs with less than 15,000 inhabitants.

Irish (Ashbourne) Land Act, 1885, provided £5,000,000 from which a tenant could borrow the whole amount required to purchase his holding.

Chronology: 1869-1886.

1869-74. Gladstone ministry.
1869. *Irish* Church disestablished.
1870. First *Irish* Land Act.
Forster's Elementary Education Act establishes School Boards.
1870-71. *Franco-Prussian* War.
1871. Trade Unions Act.
Declaration of London (Black Sea).
Treaty of Washington.
Cardwell's Army Reforms.
1872. Ballot Act.
1874-80. Disraeli or Beaconsfield (1876) ministry.

1875. Peaceful picketing sanctioned.
Purchase of Suez Canal shares.
1876. Queen Victoria 'Empress of India.'
Bulgarian atrocities.
1877. *South Africa*: Transvaal annexed.
1877-78. Russo-Turkish War.
1878. Berlin Congress.
1879. *South Africa*: Zulu War.
1879-80. *India*: Afghan War.
1880-85. Gladstone ministry.
1881. *South Africa*: Transvaal Revolt; Majuba; Retrocession of Transvaal.
Ireland: Land Act, for fixing Fair Rents.
Phœnix Park murder.
1882. *Egypt*: bombardment of Alexandria, and battle of Tel-el-Kebir.
1883. *India*: the Ilbert Bill.
1884. *Egypt*: Gordon in the Sudan.
Third Franchise Bill. 'Mending or ending' campaign against the House of Lords. Compromise on Redistribution Bill.
Africa divided into 'spheres of influence.'
1885. *Egypt*: Fall of Khartum. Sudan abandoned.
India: Penjdeh incident.
June. Redistribution Act passed.
July. Gladstone resigns. Salisbury ministry (to February 1886).
Ashbourne Act.
Nov. General Election: eighty-five Home Rulers returned.
1886. *Feb*. Gladstone's third ministry formed.

Ministries: 1868-1886.

1868. *Dec*. Gladstone's first ministry.
1874. *Feb*. Disraeli's second ministry ('Beaconsfield' from August 1876).
1880. *April*. Gladstone's second ministry.
1885. *July*. Salisbury's first ministry.
1886. *Feb*. Gladstone's third ministry.

CHAPTER XII

FEATURES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: 1798-1885.

Science—Religion—Literature.

We have seen the immense change in the manner of life of the people brought about by the invention of manufacturing machinery which could be driven by steam power instead of only by man power or water power—a change which was beginning in the last years of the eighteenth century. We have seen how this change became still more marked when the new power machinery was applied during the first half of the nineteenth century to locomotive engines running on rails and drawing trains of trucks loaded with goods or carriages laden with passengers. But the nineteenth century was rich also in other inventions of a similar kind that were not coming noticeably into general use until after 1840, of which so far we have hardly spoken.

1. Scientific Inventions: steam machinery.

Thus, steam as the power and iron as the material for propelling ships on the water in place of oars and sails were being tried experimentally before the first successful railway engine had been built; but progress was slow at first. It was not till 1838 that the first ship travelled the whole way between England and America under steam; but before the next ten years were over a number of steamships were plying, and there were steamers in the British Black Sea fleet during the Crimean War. From that time steamships rapidly took the place of sailing ships (just as railway trains took the place of horse-drawn vehicles) for all the bigger kind of work, though there was still plenty of work for horses and sailing vessels to do. In the same way the new machinery was accompanied by the use of iron in place of wood in the construction of the big ships' framework, and the size of ships grew enormously. The biggest of the old 'East Indiamen' or of the 'three-deckers' of Nelson's navy were cock-boats

Steamships.

beside the 'liners' and 'ironclads' that were being built in Beaconsfield's time.

Railways and iron-built steamers were only beginning after the Crimea to make great changes in warfare, when masses of troops could be moved rapidly over great distances. The first fight for the possession of a railway junction as a valuable military position was in the American Civil War. But new inventions were making other changes in the manner of fighting; in the middle of the century breech-loading rifles which could fire accurately from a long distance took the place of the old muzzle-loading musket, and then the rifle had a 'magazine' at the breech, which could be filled with cartridges, so that a series of shots could be fired in quick succession without reloading till the magazine was empty. The same thing was being done with cannon; and at the same time the cannon used for sieges and fortresses, and those which were carried on warships, grew bigger and bigger. One thing which helped the Germans in the Franco-Prussian War was that they had quicker firing guns than the French; very much as in olden days the English long-bow had the mastery over the slow cross-bow used by other armies. Gunnery.

These, however, were only changes in the make of the weapons; explosives more powerful than the old gunpowder were coming into use too. Another sort of novelty was the employment of a new power besides steam — electricity — mainly for purposes for which steam was of no use. For working manufacturing machinery and locomotive machinery, steam held its own. But the electric telegraph which flashed messages along wires and cables or ropes of wire over immense distances was being started in England in the forties; it was already in use in India when the mutiny broke out; and a message could be sent from England to America and answered on the same day, after the first Atlantic cable was successfully laid in 1858. At the end of another five-and-twenty years, the telephone had been invented, and distant conversations could be held over the telephone wires; and electricity was coming into use for lighting purposes, though gas (started early in the century) continued to be the principal means of lighting. Electricity.

2. Public health.

Not less remarkable was the change which took place in the study and practice of the laws of health, in sanitation and the treatment of disease.

In one way, or in part, this was due to the discovery of 'anæsthetics'

—gases or drugs by means of which a patient could be rendered unconscious for a time without any injurious consequences. If a surgeon operated on him while under chloroform he suffered no pain while the operation was going on, and lay perfectly still; whereas without the anæsthetic he had to bear intense pain, and could hardly help moving. It became possible to perform very delicate and exact operations which had hitherto been impossible; to open the body, get at the inside, cut or sew up what ought to be cut or sewn up. Anæsthetics began to be used about 1846. It followed also that surgeons operating on the living body learnt more and more about the way in which the organs acted—no one before had been able to see them acting—and how many diseases might be cured by operations which before had never been dreamed of.

Anæsthetics, 1846.

Then came another great surgical discovery. The great danger from most cuts and wounds was that blood-poisoning might set in, from 'microbes' getting into the wound though it had never been touched by anything that did not seem quite clean. But the microbes could be destroyed by 'antiseptics' applied to the open wound, the bandages, the surgeon's instruments, everything that could possibly come in contact with it. Antiseptics made such an immense difference that whenever an operation could be performed under proper conditions—as, for instance, in a hospital—it became almost certain that blood-poisoning would not result from it. So the number of cures which were wrought by surgery increased and multiplied. The development of the antiseptic treatment was mainly due to Sir Joseph Lister, and belongs to the close of our period.

Antiseptics.

The use of antiseptics (also called 'disinfectants') sprang from the medical discovery that germs or microbes were the cause of many diseases, and that diseases could be not only cured but —what meant a great deal more—actually prevented. A contagious or infectious disease is one in which the microbes (tiny invisible organisms) which cause it pass from the sick person to some one else; an 'epidemic' arises when the air or water or other food supplies such as milk have been tainted with the disease germs, which in consequence find their way into a number of victims in whom they develop and multiply, and so pass on to fresh victims. When the great students of medical science began to 'identify' germs—that is, to distinguish different kinds of germs under the microscope, and discover what particular kind of germ caused a particular disease, they could

Germs.

'cultivate' them in their laboratories, and make experiments with them. Vaccination meant that a smallpox germ which was just strong enough to give the disease in a very slight form, but not strong enough to develop and become infectious, was injected into the blood of a healthy person, and secured him against catching the disease again in a more dangerous form. So now the doctors were beginning to find out that other diseases could be prevented or checked in the same sort of way, by inoculation—injecting a weakened germ.

As yet, however, the practice of inoculation was at a very early stage. Protection from infection was given by increasing care in isolating the sick—that is, keeping them apart, and disinfecting everything and every one that came out of the sick room—and by sanitation. Sanitation means mainly arrangements for ensuring pure fresh air, pure water and milk, cleanliness and good drainage—matters to which very little attention had been paid before the middle of the nineteenth century.

Sanitation.

THE advance in medical knowledge was in part the outcome of the increased study of the science of biology, the laws which govern animal and vegetable life and its development or decay. From this study sprang the theory of Evolution. Until after the middle of the nineteenth century, nearly every one believed that the whole universe—the sun, the stars, the world, every kind of living creature upon it—had literally been created in six days, rather less than six thousand years ago, as apparently described in the book of Genesis; perhaps most people thought that no one could really be a Christian unless he believed so. Still, geology, study of the earth itself, made it quite clear that the world with living things on it must really have been in existence much longer. But when Charles Darwin published in 1859 his book, *The Origin of Species*, the new doctrine which startled every one was put forward that all living creatures were descended from living organisms perhaps millions of years ago; which had slowly changed or 'developed' into different kinds of creatures on land or in water; some of which died out, because they were for one reason or another not so well 'adapted to their environment' (the scientific way of saying that it was more difficult for them to live and to produce and rear their offspring) as the rest, till finally Man had developed, as apes and monkeys had also developed out of tree-dwelling creatures, by this process of 'natural selection.' Darwin gave his reasons for this belief, and by degrees most people

3. Evolution.

Darwin, 1859.

were convinced by his reasoning. But at first the new doctrine was denounced as contrary to religion, till people began to see that if God, the Divine Will, was needed to create Man, He was needed quite as much to create the laws of development. In the end Darwin's theory, like Newton's a century and a half earlier, made the idea of God grander than ever, and at the same time gave a new reason for believing in Progress; since it meant that the world must always have been moving on from the lower to the higher, from the worse to the better, if the doctrine of Evolution was true.

4. Religious movements.

Perhaps what was called 'Darwinism' seemed all the more startling because it came only a few years after great stirrings of religious zeal both in England and Scotland. In England this was known as the Oxford or Tractarian Movement; in Scotland it brought about what was called the Disruption. In both it sprang from an intense devotion to the traditions of the Church of the country.

The Tractarians, 1833.

The Oxford reformers headed by Newman, Keble, and Pusey, looked back to the 'age of Faith' in the Middle Ages when religion seemed to them to have played a much bigger part in many men's lives than in the early nineteenth century. They thought that this was because the Church in England since the Reformation had rejected or neglected to teach truths that she had taught in the old days, which had made Religious Faith a living thing. In their view the Church had fallen too much under control of the State. In a series of essays called *Tracts for the Times* (published in the 'thirties') they set about reviving the old teaching, which would at least have brought the Church of England much nearer to the Church of Rome. But for that very reason the movement stirred up the 'No Popery' sentiment, and roused angry opposition; the more when some of the leaders, including Newman himself, left the Church of England and joined that of Rome. The 'Thirty-nine Articles' laying down the doctrines of the Church, and the services in the Prayer Book which were ordered by law to be read in the churches, allowed great variety both in doctrine and ceremonies; which were left to the discretion of the parish clergy subject to the control of their bishops. It is still disputed whether some of those which the Oxford movement revived were ordered, permitted, or forbidden by the rules of the Church 'as by law established'; but they implied that the priesthood had an authority which if it were admitted would give them much more power than

Protestants generally approved. However, whatever side people may take in these controversies, the important fact remained that the Oxford movement made the clergy (whether they supported it, or opposed it as most of the bishops did) much more alive to their duties than they had hitherto been.

The movement in Scotland was of a different kind; it was concerned not so much with the freedom of the clergy as with the freedom of the congregation to appoint their own minister—a practice which had never existed in the English Church, but was strongly insisted upon in Scotland as the right of 'Spiritual Independence.' The law, however, gave the power of appointment not to the congregation itself but to a patron; 'patronage' and 'spiritual independence' could not go together. Patrons began to insist on their legal rights; the law supported them; and in defence of the principle of spiritual independence, great numbers of the clergy, and of their congregations, left the Established Church in 1843 and set up the 'Free Kirk.' The ministers left the 'manses'—which meant much the same thing as vicarages and rectories in England—and became entirely dependent on the voluntary support of the congregations, like Nonconformist bodies in England. There was no real difference between the 'Free' and the 'Established' doctrines or services, but ministers and congregations had made a great sacrifice for the sake of a principle.

The Free Kirk, 1843.

THE nineteenth century is one of the great periods of English literature. It was a great age of poetry; it created the modern novel; and the press, the 'periodicals' appearing daily, weekly, or monthly, became a tremendous power throughout the country.

5. Literature.

Poetry broke away from the 'classical' bonds by which it had been fettered since the 'Augustan' age of Dryden and Pope, the rules which had been invented that limited its forms, its subjects, and its language. People who wrote verse had ceased to seek and find beauty in anything but what the world in general had been taught by the fashionable critics to regard as beautiful, or to express emotions except according to pattern. But in Scotland there were still song-makers who had hardly been heard of in England, till near the end of the century there arose one—Robert Burns—so great that he forced himself to be heard; at a time when men's minds were already preparing to challenge all sorts of ideas which had once been valuable but had ceased to be so; when they were feeling that customs which had once been good had become deadening conventions

Poetry.

Burns.

which should be abolished. In politics, the French Revolution shattered many of them; Robert Burns gave the impulse which led to the shattering of eighteenth-century conventions in English poetry.

A new movement, 1798.

But the new movement may really be said to have started with the publication of a volume of *Poems and Ballads* by William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge in 1798.

Coleridge, like Shakespeare and Burns, gave magic to his words by the way he used them:—

'Till clomb above the eastern bar
The hornéd moon, with one bright star
Within the nether tip.
One after one, by the star-dogged moon,
Too quick for groan or sigh,
Each turned his face with a ghastly pang
And cursed me with his eye.
Four times fifty living men,
(And I heard nor sigh nor groan),
With heavy thump, a lifeless lump,
They dropp'd down one by one.'

Wordsworth turned to the natural world, being

'A lover of the meadows and the woods
And mountains; and of all that we behold
From this green earth; of all the mighty world
Of eye and ear'—

not merely because they were lovely to the eye, but seeing in them a deeper beauty,

'Something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man,'

and always hearing in them what he calls

'The still sad music of humanity.'

A group of Poets.

Then came Byron, a rebel against conventions of every sort, Keats with a music as magical as Coleridge's, Shelley as magical as either, as inspiring—though in a different way and generally to different people—as Wordsworth. Wordsworth, born first of the five in 1770, lived till 1850; Coleridge, the second of them, till 1834. The other three had all died before 1825. Byron was the

only one of them who at once became popular and influenced a large number of writers and readers; but the influence of all the others went much deeper, and may be seen in different degrees in the great poets of the next generation—Alfred Tennyson and Robert Browning, Swinburne and Matthew Arnold.

Tennyson and Arnold became the two great representative poets of the 'Victorian Era,' or more especially the middle part of it—that is, their poetry expresses the emotions, the doubts, and the faiths most prevalent at that period. No one would go to the works of Swinburne or Browning to see what English folk generally were thinking in those days, though probably the writers of the twentieth century have been more influenced by both of them than by the other pair. The grace and delicacy of Tennyson's verse and the ringing splendour of Swinburne's have never been excelled; but Browning's verse is often so harsh, and his meaning—at least at first sight—so hard to follow, that he hardly became popular till he had been writing for more than forty years. Yet there are many who hold that there are deeper lessons in human nature, more profound truths to be learnt from Browning than from any English writer except Shakespeare.

A later group.

Profound truths are not to be learnt from the creators of the modern English novel, Walter Scott and Jane Austen, rich though they are in the knowledge of human nature. Great novels had been written in the eighteenth century, novels of real life, by Daniel Defoe and Henry Fielding; but they had not taught others to follow in their footsteps except in a very small way or a very rough way. When Scott, however, published the first of his 'Waverley Novels' in 1814 he not only took the world by storm but supplied a new model for all story writers. In the next eighteen years he poured forth a series of tales, which continued to be read eagerly for half a century. But when he had been dead for fifty years writers were beginning to see that greater compactness would increase their popularity; and when stories were written in a less leisurely manner, Scott and the great novelists who had followed him began also to be regarded as tedious. Jane Austen, writing about the same time as Scott, though for a shorter period, and making fun of the very unreal romances which had hitherto passed for novels of real life, never took the world by storm, but no one has ever called her tedious. She drew inimitable pictures of what may be called the upper-middle class society of her own day, which are still a delight to many readers.

The novel.

In the eighteenth century young men who hoped to make their mark as authors came up to London with a (probably dull) Tragedy for the fashionable stage in their pockets. Scott taught them in the nineteenth century that a successful novel was a better way to fame than a Tragedy. He was hardly dead when Charles Dickens flashed into the front rank with the *Pickwick Papers*, soon followed by Thackeray, then by the Brontës and George Eliot. Disraeli was famous as a novelist before his abilities as a statesman were recognised. The novel was fully established with the British public in the position which in Shakespeare's time had been held by the drama.

Finally, it was in the nineteenth century that newspapers and other periodical publications became a real power. From the time when Steele and Addison in the days of Queen Anne were writing the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*, many similar periodicals had their day; but there was little regular criticism either of politics or literature, and what there was had a very limited circle of readers; though political pamphlets abounded. But after the battle between John Wilkes and the Government, early in the reign of George III., restrictions on publications disappeared rapidly. Then 'Reviews'—the *Quarterly*, the *Edinburgh*, and *Blackwood*—were started; every country town began to have its own papers. The abolition of the Paper duties in 1861 cheapened their production so much that they gained an enormously increased circulation; and as a matter of fact men's opinions were very much guided by the papers they were in the habit of reading, especially with regard to political questions. On the one hand, the Press made haste to reveal to the public the earliest information on every possible subject which excited or was likely to excite popular interest at the moment; and, on the other hand, it expressed the popular opinions of the moment on every such subject. Its enormous influence was generally exercised with honesty, though not always with wisdom; and some of the ablest men in the country were engaged in directing it.

The Press.

PART II

Recent History

CHAPTER XIII

LORD SALISBURY'S RULE: 1886-1902.

I. The European Powers: 1886-1902.

Great Britain—Bismarck—William II.—The Near East—Russia and France.

Eight months after the change of ministry in February 1886, Lord Salisbury was again Prime Minister. From that time, except for an interval of three years (August 1892-June 1895), he was at the head of the Government. During that interval the Liberals were in office, but Salisbury, leading the Opposition in the House of Lords, rejected or reduced to insignificance every measure (Finance Bills excepted) sent up from the Commons. It lay with him to decide what legislation should be permitted to pass, so that he—not the Liberal Premier—was actually at the helm. In foreign affairs, the difference between Lord Salisbury and Lord Rosebery (the Liberal Foreign Minister) was one not of policy but of personality; consequently the whole period may fitly be described as the reign of Lord Salisbury; or with almost equal fitness as the rule of Conservatism. Throughout it, the same guiding principles directed the actions either of a Unionist Ministry supported by the House of Lords as well as the House of Commons, or of a Unionist Opposition which by means of the House of Lords could prevent the Commons from doing anything to which it was opposed.

1. Great Britain, 1886-1902.

During those sixteen years, the country on two occasions very nearly came into collision with France, and on one with America; on others there was some friction with other states, but no serious risk of actual collision. The story of these episodes will be told in due order; but

first we must explain the international position—the relations between the various states, at the beginning, and as it was affected by the course of events.

The United States held themselves aloof from European politics, as being no concern of theirs. If they clashed with any eastern Powers, it was not because they had interests in the eastern hemisphere, but because those Powers had interests in the Western hemisphere. They held to that view until 1917. They were outside the matters which affected the European situation.

The United States.

In Europe, Germany was the geographical centre, and the political centre as well; that is, there was no state which would plunge into war with another state without first being sure that Germany would not intervene on the other side. Now in 1886 the old German Emperor, William I., was still alive and vigorous though he was nearly ninety. All through his reign, first as king of Prussia and then as German Emperor, his policy had been guided—and it was still guided—by the master mind of Bismarck; who since 1871 had pursued for Germany a policy of peace, though he had no objection to his neighbours fighting each other so long as German interests were not threatened thereby. He wanted to consolidate the Empire, to make the Will of Germany the most influential in Europe; but he did not want actually to extend German dominion.

2. Germany under Bismarck.

The Powers that mattered to Germany much more than any others were the three on her own borders—Russia on the east, Austria on the south-east, France on the west. Of the three, France was hostile but not dangerous except in alliance with other Powers. Russia was not hostile, but if she became so would be dangerous. Austria had interests in the Balkans which clashed with Russia's, but none which clashed with Germany's. There was no risk of collision with Austria, but there was risk of collision with Russia, and risk of collision between Austria and Russia; Russia, if she defeated Austria, would become immediately dangerous. Germany therefore would have to stand by Austria; a close alliance was necessary to both. But an armed quarrel with Russia was to be avoided by both; above all, Russia must not become friendly with France. Germany and Austria must therefore endeavour to preserve friendly relations with Russia, and to direct her aggressive ambitions away from the danger-zone in the Balkans to Asia, where she might act as she pleased. As long as a league between the three emperors could be

Germany and her neighbours.

maintained, Germany would be secure ; but in any case, if Russia and France drew together there would be danger.

Outside this ring of Powers were Italy and Britain. It was easy to foster ill-feeling between Russia and Britain, between France and Britain, and between France and Italy ; but, as there was a still unreconciled feud between Italy and Austria which remained in possession of territory that Italy regarded as Italian, it would be useful to inveigle her into the Central alliance. So, since the Berlin Congress (1878), there had been a growing rift between Russia and the two central empires, but Italy had been drawn into their league. Britain would have nothing to say to leagues ; but she had no quarrels, no interests clashing with those of the central empires, whereas there was almost constant friction between her and France and also Russia. Besides, there was an age-long tradition of English rivalry with France both in Europe and oversea ; it was not long since she had actually been at war with Russia ; whereas in the whole course of history her armies or fleets had never been opposed in battle to those of either Prussia or Austria. Active hostility from Britain was so unlikely that there was no need to seek close alliance.

Germany and the outer ring.

But a change was at hand, the meaning of which was not obvious for a long time. In 1888 old William I. died ; his son Frederick III. was already dying, and before midsummer William II. was German Emperor. The young William had vast ambitions, and no notion of being directed or guided by the old statesman who had so triumphantly controlled Germany's destinies for forty years. In 1889 he 'dropped the Pilot' ; he had no more use for Bismarck, and from that time he went his own way till it led him to the edge and over the edge of the last precipice. His thirst for world dominion was no less than that of the great Napoleon. From Napoleon he had learnt that the key to world-mastery was the possession of Western Asia, then in the hands of the Turk, who did not know how to use it. But Napoleon's career had also taught him, what Napoleon himself had never learnt, that world-mastery could not be won while the British fleet held the sea-mastery. Till the Turk was his tool, and his own fleet a match for the British fleet, his hour would not arrive. To Bismarck, Britain had never been a main obstacle, nor control over Turkey a main object of desire, as they were to the new emperor. William had to carry out Bismarck's policy, but with those two very substantial additions. Organisation then, not immediate war, was the

3. William II., 1888.

first thing. But meanwhile Germany must be imbued with his own ambitions and inspired with a blind loyalty to its Kaiser.

Meanwhile also, the thing came about which Bismarck had always been most anxious to prevent. The rift between Russia and Germany widened, and before the century was over the Tsardom was in alliance with the French Republic. On the other hand, William's projects were favoured by the growing hostility of the German people to the British, born of their own belated desire for colonial and maritime expansion; and Turkey found in him a patron and protector much more to her liking then either Russia or Britain.

Russia and France.

THE 'Eastern Question' or 'Balkan Problem' had entered on a new phase with the Berlin treaty. Russia had always posed as the champion of the Christian populations of the Balkan peninsula against Turkish oppression, and in particular of the Slav populations. When she made the treaty of San Stefano in 1878, she hoped to set up a great Bulgarian principality, under her own protection, through which she would be the real mistress of Turkey in Europe. But the Berlin treaty left only a little instead of a big Bulgaria; Austria had captured the protectorate of Slavonic Bosnia; neither the Bulgarian nor the Rumanian people regarded themselves as Slavs; in both the reigning prince was a German, not a Slav. Rumania, with very good reason, considered that she had been very ill treated by Russia to whom she had given valuable aid during the war. Bulgaria was turned against her by her open attempts to control the Bulgarian government. All the independent Balkan states—Rumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece—were jealous of each other and eager to bring within their own boundaries portions of the territories still subject to Turkey. At any moment the Balkans might again become a storm-centre. The pure Slav of the Upper Danube and the north-west—Serbians, Montenegrins, and Bosnians—fearing Austrian domination, would lean to Russia; the Lower Danube states—Rumania and Bulgaria—fearing Russian domination, would lean to Austria; Greece might turn to France or Britain for encouragement; any or all of them might turn against Turkey, and any explosion might lead to a general conflagration. If in such a turmoil any one succeeded in getting control of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, it would not be Russia, or any willing vassal of Russia. But as no one wanted a general conflagration, it followed that no one wanted an explosion. The only security for Europe lay in the 'Concert of

4. The Near East.

The Concert of Europe.

Europé,' the agreement of the Powers to take no separate action, but to unite in applying joint pressure to prevent the flame from spreading if it were kindled.

We shall find this 'Concert of Europe' repeatedly called into play down to 1913. That name for it did not come into general use till the Berlin treaty of 1878; but the principle had been set in motion at the Congress of Vienna in 1815; it had been applied repeatedly in the numerous European Congresses between 1815 and 1830; Canning and every British foreign minister since his day had invariably insisted that any active intervention in the affairs of the Balkan peninsula must be that of the Powers acting in concert in the general interests of Europe, not that of particular Powers acting in their own particular interests. The settlements, following the wars which the 'Concert' had failed to prevent, had still been made by the Powers in concert, and it was now regarded as the business of the Concert to prevent wars as well as to shape the settlement after them. It was not brilliantly successful, but it did, for six-and-thirty years (1878-1914), succeed in limiting the war-area when wars broke out. There was no one among the great Powers prepared to run the risk of flying in the face of the public opinion of Europe by taking separate action, though it was difficult enough to persuade public opinion to express itself in united action.

5. Russia.

Russia herself had met with a check in the Near East at the Berlin Congress; she had then, as we saw, turned her aggressive activities to Central Asia and Afghanistan; but after the Penjdeh affair her movement was not towards India but to the Pacific through Siberia. Her next war was not with any European Power, but with Japan. She was in fact plunged into domestic troubles which made her unwilling to challenge a European conflict. The murder of Alexander II. in 1882 by the Anarchists or Nihilists drove the Government of his successor Alexander III. to a policy of merciless repression, which would have been inconceivable in any other European state; to be innocent of crime was no protection against the agents of the law, and no agent of the law was secure against assassins—women almost as often as men. Resistance was left to the few reckless people who willingly faced almost certain death for the chance of slaying a tyrant. But beneath the surface blind despair sank deeper, the despair that breeds the most murderous kind of revolution, destroying but incapable of building.

In the West, France had recovered her stability. The Republic was safe. Bonapartism had been quenched when the 'Prince Imperial,' the son of Napoleon III., was slain in the British Zulu war, a soldier in Queen Victoria's army. The Bourbon claimant to the throne had ruined his cause as the Old Chevalier had ruined the Stewart cause by demanding all or nothing; there was no possibility of France restoring a monarchy of the old type. But France was alone in Europe, too jealous of England to seek English friendship, antagonistic to Italy because the two countries had rival ambitions in Africa. But before the century closed she had joined hands with Russia under her last Tsar Nicholas, though friendship with Britain then seemed farther off than ever.

France.

II. Britain and the Powers: 1886-1902.

Lord Salisbury—The African Scramble—The United States—The Near East—The Far East.

In the Beaconsfield Cabinet Lord Salisbury—at the India Office, at the Foreign Office, and as Beaconsfield's associate at the Berlin Congress —had gained a reputation as a statesman determined to push British interests somewhat aggressively and somewhat unscrupulously, according to Liberals. Gladstone's foreign minister, Lord Granville, was reputed to be pliant, ready to give way to the pressure of 'peace at any price' colleagues at home, or any appearance of determined opposition abroad, according to Conservatives. Aggressive politicians were satisfied that British honour was safe in the hands of the Conservative chief, though in the eyes of the other party he was dangerous: in foreign countries there was a general disposition to consider that when Liberals were in office Britain might be ignored, while, with Beaconsfield's party in power it was necessary to go warily. This reputation was extremely useful to Lord Salisbury and to the country. For he was by no means aggressive in fact, and he could afford to make concessions to foreign Powers which, however sensible they might be, would have been denounced as pusillanimous if they had been made by a Liberal Government.

1. Lord Salisbury.

During the six months of Gladstone's ministry in 1886 no pressing foreign questions arose. For the next six years, Salisbury was at the head of a Conservative ministry, though the party was in a minority; but the Liberal party had split in two, and one division of it, the 'Liberal Unionists,' regularly supported the Government. During those years, although there were

Parties and foreign policy.

occasional anxious moments, there was no crisis; the real feature of the period was the settlement of disputable questions in Africa between Britain and Germany and between Britain and France. When the Liberals returned to office for three years, there was nothing to distinguish their policy from that of Salisbury; and when at the end of the three years the Liberal Unionists joined him in forming a Unionist Government, its policy was not so aggressive as that favoured by a large section of the Opposition.

2. The African scramble.

We saw that in 1884 the Powers were just awaking to the fact that Europeans were only in occupation of coastal districts in Africa. Venturesome explorers had journeyed perilously into the interior, which was inhabited entirely by uncivilised tribes; and the possibility of opening up the 'Dark Continent' and making much profit thereby had at last presented itself. The Germans, who had never thought about Colonial expansion hitherto, were eager to step in before the two great colonising peoples, British and French, could occupy the unoccupied territories. (The other old colonisers—Spain, Holland, and Portugal—had long exhausted their power of expansion.) The king of the Belgians had made a start on his own account in the Congo—a region where the French too were moving. The British officially were not anxious for new responsibilities, but private British enterprise was active. So the partitioning of Africa by agreements between the Powers began in 1884; and in 1890 important Anglo-German and Anglo-French settlements were made. The Governments in each country were denounced for having surrendered at all points to their rival.

The Anglo-German Agreement.

The German treaty in fact gave to Germany, in East Africa, a territory between Portuguese East Africa and the Equator stretching inland from the east coast to the great lakes. As the Belgian Congo 'state' stretched from the great lakes to the west coast, British South Africa was completely severed from British North Africa, though at the same time the British got the northern territory between German East Africa and the Egyptian Sudan, and also the Protectorate of Zanzibar. To mollify Germany for this, Lord Salisbury made a 'graceful concession' to her; he gave her the small island of Heligoland in the North Sea, for which she hankered that she might use it as a naval fortress. In 1890, no one was expecting that Germany would or could make herself a great naval Power. By the French agreement, Britain recognised

the French Protectorate of Madagascar, while France recognised the British Protectorate of Zanzibar on the east coast and the British sphere of Nigeria on the Gulf of Guinea. Here, however, we must notice that this new question of German colonial expansion was creating in the German people a new temper of active hostility to England. Wherever they looked, the way to German expansion was blocked by the British, in every quarter of the globe. German and British interests came into direct conflict for the first time when Germany was seized at last with the desire for expansion, and everywhere found in the British the great obstacle to her desire.

German Anglo-phobia.

Other settlements were made during the same period with foreign Powers in regard to oversea questions. Island groups in the Pacific Ocean which no one had formally annexed were allotted by agreement to Britain, France, or Germany. Questions of American fishing rights in Canadian waters and French fishing rights off Newfoundland were dealt with in 1888 by treaties which in the view at least of Canadians and Newfoundlanders were much too favourable to the United States and to France. A third 'Fisheries' question however, the 'Alaska' dispute with Russia, was referred by treaty to arbitration in 1892, and the award was wholly in favour of the British. The most notable achievement of the brief Liberal Government was the first treaty made by any European Power with Japan (1894), treating her not as half-barbaric, but as being on the same international footing as a European state.

Sundry disputes.

LORD SALISBURY had hardly returned to office in 1895 when fresh trouble arose with America. The boundaries between the Republic of Venezuela and the colony of British Guiana on the north of South America were in dispute. The British case was so clear that the British Government could not regard the question as an open one: nevertheless the President of the United States announced that the dispute must be laid before the United States for decision. War was threatened, but was skilfully averted. Salisbury, without admitting the right of any Power to intervene, satisfied the American demand by submitting so much of the question as was doubtful to the arbitration of a joint commission. The joint commission decided unanimously in favour of the British claims and every one was satisfied.

3. Britain and America, 1895-8.

More than that, the settlement had the rather surprising effect of creating a 'new spirit of goodwill' between Britain and the United

States,' which was immensely strengthened three years later. A quarrel between the great American Republic and Spain, concerning the island of Cuba, brought on a war (1898) in which the United States were completely victorious. Other European Powers were eager to intervene on behalf of Spain—until they understood that if they did so the British fleet would be called into play. So no one in fact intervened, and the goodwill between America and Britain was confirmed.

THE Eastern Question and the disturbances among the Balkan states had kept Europe in some anxiety for the past ten years. Bulgaria had succeeded in extending her own borders, had defeated Serbia heavily in the course of a very short war, and had shaken herself free from Russian domination. The Balkans at last seemed to have settled down into comparative quiet, but Turkish misrule, not in Europe but among her Christian subjects in Armenia, was forcing itself on the attention of the Powers in 1894. In 1895-6 a series of 'Armenian massacres' threatened to revive the excitement of the 'Bulgarian atrocities' twenty years before. There was lively sympathy for the Armenians; but this time it was Russia that acted as a drag on the Concert of Europe. Though Britain had a sense of special responsibility resting on her for the Turks in Asia, since the Anglo-Turkish agreement which had given her Cyprus in 1878, she could hardly claim a right to intervene single-handed; seeing how strenuously she had denied Russia's right to do so in the past. While Russia flatly refused to countenance any sort of armed action, the Concert could only fall back on its time-honoured practice of lecturing the Porte, while the Porte remained sublimely confident that the lecturing might be safely ignored; though for the sake of appearances it made the usual promises which as usual it left unfulfilled. There was now much denunciation of the British Government's inaction, from the Liberal side; but Gladstone had now retired, and Lord Rosebery, who had succeeded him as Liberal chief, took the same view of the question as Lord Salisbury. Though an able minority in the party supported him, it was clear that he was out of sympathy with the majority of it, and he resigned the leadership.

4. Armenian massacres, 1894-6.

Non-intervention.

Meanwhile, however, the big island of Crete at the south of the Aegean Sea was giving trouble. It was under Turkish rule, but the majority of its inhabitants desired union with the Greek kingdom. They revolted. In 1897 Greece tried to take matters into her own hands, and sent a force in aid of the revolt. Then

Crete, 1896-8.

the Concert intervened, Britain taking the lead, supported by France, Italy, and Russia, though the two Central Empires stood aside. Since only fleets could take effective action, it was practically the British fleet that settled the business. The Greeks had already withdrawn from Crete to fight the Turks (who very thoroughly defeated them) on the mainland. The fighting in Crete was stopped, and the Turk garrison was required to leave the island, where the forces of the Concert kept order till in 1898 Turkey granted the Cretans self-government or 'autonomy' with the Greek Prince George as governor. Crete, that is, was not joined to the Greek kingdom, but remained under the Turkish sovereignty, while its right to manage its own affairs was secured. During all these proceedings, while Lord Salisbury was largely engaged in saving the Greeks from paying the full penalty of their rashness, Germany was establishing her position as the benevolent friend of the much-abused Turk.

In 1898 there was a moment when a serious Anglo-French collision threatened, a small French expedition from French Nigeria having penetrated to Fashoda in the Egyptian Sudan just as the Anglo-Egyptian troops were demolishing the forces of the Khalifa, the Mahdi's successor. The French Government, however, with cooler judgment than the French people, succeeded in avoiding the rupture which the more fiery spirits would have forced upon them. To this matter we shall return later.

Fashoda, 1898.

MEANWHILE, however, there was another quarter of the globe in which European nations were developing conflicting interests. In Central Asia the Russian pressure southwards had been brought to a halt by the 'delimitation' of the Russian, Afghan, and British frontiers, which had been in progress at the time of the Penjdeh incident, and was completed in 1887. But in North Asia (Siberia) she had been securing her control till she reached the east on the Pacific Coast—too far north, however, to fulfil her desire for an ice-free port. She was anxious therefore to get possession of Manchuria (which was within the Chinese Empire). But so also was the new Power of Japan. Britain was already in possession of Hong-Kong at the southern end of China; and all the big European Powers were seized with the desire to win control or at least a leading influence within the Chinese Empire.

5. The Far East.

Now in 1894 the British secured the friendship of Japan by the treaty which recognised her as a civilised state. In the next year, war broke out between Japan and China. To the general astonishment,

Japan, instead of being overwhelmed, very thoroughly defeated the Chinese. She claimed territory from China; but it was territory which Russia wanted—and got, since little Japan was not yet ready to fight big Russia. Russia, posing as China's defender, was rewarded by being given practical control of the territory that Japan had demanded. China also made concessions to France and Germany, and even Britain obtained the 'lease' to her of the island of Wei-hai-wei (1898). The Chinese scramble.

China had made the concessions, but she hated the foreigners as much as ever. In 1899 there broke out the insurrections known as the 'Boxer rebellion' against the Government of the young Emperor, which showed favour to foreigners. The rising was almost openly encouraged by the Empress—the widow of the former Emperor. The Boxer movement was in fact a popular movement against the Europeans, used by the reactionary party in China in order to get power into their own hands. In 1900, the Europeans in Peking, the Chinese capital, were shut up in the 'legations,' the buildings set apart for the ambassadors. Then the Powers combined. All of them sent military contingents (including Japan); the supreme command was conceded to a German general. Peking was occupied, the legations were relieved, and China was compelled to pay heavy indemnities or fines to the various Powers. However, as they had all acted together, they agreed that none should claim territory from China—though in fact Russia used her position to secure her hold on Manchuria. For doing so, she was presently to pay the penalty in a disastrous war with Japan. The Boxer troubles, 1899-1900.

III. The Irish Problem: 1886-1895.

The Irish Question—First Home Rule Bill—Unionist Rule—The Decisive Verdict.

In 1886 Gladstone produced the first scheme for giving Ireland self-government or 'Home Rule' without separation from the British Empire. The scheme was rejected by the House of Commons, Gladstone appealed to the country, and the country replied by electing a solid majority of Unionists. In 1892, another General Election returned a majority of Home Rulers; Gladstone brought in and carried a second and rather different Home Rule scheme in the Commons, but it was rejected by the Lords. When 1. The Home Rule Question.

that Parliament was dissolved in 1895, the country showed its approval of the action of the Lords by returning a Unionist majority which was not only solid but overwhelming. For fifteen years the whole question was wiped off the board; then it became acute again. Whether it has since been solved is still a matter of doubt; the last solution, carried through by those who were formerly the most determined opponents of Home Rule, has conceded to the demands of Irish 'Nationalism' very much more than was ever contemplated by Gladstone.

Why Home Rule was refused.

But from 1801 to 1886 no one outside of Ireland had thought it possible that any political party whatever would dream of proposing to grant Ireland a separate parliament of her own; since in any Irish parliament, after 1892, the Roman Catholics would outnumber the Protestants, while it was the firm conviction of Protestant England and Scotland, and of the Protestants in Ireland, that the preservation of Protestant ascendency in the government of Ireland was a necessity. For this belief there were two reasons. First, the Catholics in Ireland had for centuries been held in harsh subjection by their Protestant rulers; if they came into power, they would probably use their power to retaliate on the Protestants. Secondly, Ireland had always been antagonistic to British rule, and very much more so since the Reformation. The Protestants had supported British rule, because their own security had depended upon it; a great proportion of the Catholics had been antagonistic to it, because it held them in subjection. An Irish parliament predominantly Catholic would probably do everything in its power to sever the British connection. From these two reasons taken together it followed that Great Britain was bound to protect Protestants and Loyalists in Ireland from the domination of Catholics and Separatists, which, as it appeared, would be the certain result of giving Ireland self-government. To these arguments another was now added. In any Irish parliament, the peasantry would have the principal voice in electing the members. The peasantry as a class were hostile to the landlords as a class. An Irish parliament would pass laws as unjust to the landlords as the old land laws had been to the tenants. Great Britain was bound to protect the landlords, just as it was bound to protect the Protestants; and it could protect neither if Ireland had her own parliament.

Now, in 1886, the leader of a great political party, the most experienced statesman in Great Britain, declared himself suddenly a convert to the doctrine of Irish self-government; just as forty years before

Peel had declared himself a convert to the doctrine of Free Trade in corn which, till that time, he had always denounced and both the great political parties had rejected. The reason for the conversion was definite. Hitherto it had been possible to believe that Ireland as a whole did not really want Home Rule; not quite three out of every five of the members from Ireland had been Home-Rulers; but in 1886, four out of five were 'Nationalists.' It was almost impossible to doubt that three-fourths of Ireland wanted Home Rule, though it had been possible before to question whether more than half of it did so. For the first time, it was clear that the demand was national. But, as concerned all foreign countries, most Liberals—and Gladstone more earnestly than any one—had habitually, since Canning's day, preached that autonomy should be given to nationalities which definitely demanded it. Gladstone's position was that on Liberal principles Great Britain could no longer refuse autonomy to Ireland. But it was still necessary to give the autonomy only upon conditions which would secure the minorities—Protestants and landlords—against vindictive treatment by the majorities, and which would not enable an anti-British majority in Ireland to use its powers harmfully to the British Empire.

Why Home Rule was supported.

Hitherto, autonomy had been refused point blank. Now the problem for Gladstone was to concede autonomy but at the same time to preserve security. Conservatives in England and Scotland, and Loyalists in Ireland, were as firmly convinced as ever that the thing could not be done at all. The country must choose between granting autonomy and preserving security; it could not do both; security had the stronger claim, therefore autonomy must still be flatly rejected. There were some Liberals who agreed with them. A majority believed that the thing could be done; but when it came to shaping a plan, they could not agree. In the eyes of some of them Gladstone's plan gave too much autonomy and too little security. In the eyes of Gladstone's followers, this section wanted too much security and too little autonomy. In the eyes of the Irish Nationalists, on the other hand, Gladstone's proposed autonomy did not go far enough: they would take it, and then ask for more.

Varying views.

When Gladstone formed his Cabinet several of his former colleagues refused to join it, either because they would have nothing to say to a Dublin parliament at any price or because they wanted first to know what the price was to be. Among them were both Lord Hartington,

the leader of the Whig wing, and Mr. Chamberlain, the champion of democracy. Gladstone introduced together a new Land Bill and a Home Rule Bill. The Land Bill was to be a final settlement of the land question; it would enable landlords who were afraid of vindictive legislation to sell their land to the Government, which in turn would sell it again to the tenants. The Home Rule Bill offered an Irish parliament; but it was to have no naval or military control, no voice in affairs which concerned any part of the Empire except Ireland itself; and Ireland, like the Colonies, was not to be represented any more in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster.

2. The first Home Rule Bill defeated, 1886.

This pleased some people, who thought it worth while to pay almost any price to be rid of Irish 'obstruction' at Westminster. Others objected on the ground that if Ireland ceased to share in the direction of Imperial affairs, she would be encouraged to desire separation from the Empire. Though Parnell and the Irish Nationalists voted for the Bill on its second reading a large body of 'dissentient' Liberals joined the Conservatives in voting against it. It was defeated; Gladstone at once appealed to the country. The Conservatives numbered a little less than half the entire house, after the General Election; but with the support of the Liberal Unionists they outnumbered the Gladstone Liberals and Irish Nationalists together by more than a hundred.

LORD SALISBURY then formed his second ministry (August 1886). Like the Peelites, when the Liberals took office in 1846, the 'Liberal Unionists' did not join the ministry, but could be reckoned on to give it general support; and we shall presently see that much of the legislation of this parliament was shaped according to the wishes of Liberal Unionists rather than of Conservatives.

3. The Unionist Parties, 1886.

The defeat of the Home Rule Bill again stirred up the Agrarian agitation in Ireland. Not Parnell himself but some of the other Nationalist leaders set on foot what was called the 'Plan of Campaign.' The tenants, if dissatisfied, were to combine, fix what they themselves regarded as 'fair' rents, offer to pay those rents, and—if the landlords refused—pay them into a central fund instead of to the landlords. The landlords for the most part did refuse, and evicted the tenants; the tenants took their revenge in the usual fashion on any new tenants who tried

The 'Plan of Campaign,' 1886-7.

to occupy their holdings. The Pope intervened, condemning the plan; a number of Catholics replied by formally declaring that the question was one in which they could not admit that the Spiritual Authority had any right to interfere.

Early in 1887 Mr. Arthur Balfour became Chief Secretary for Ireland. The position was one which had shattered the health and the career of several predecessors; in it, Mr. Balfour's unfailing skill, his imperturbable tact and good temper, and his invincible firmness, brought him at once into the front rank—and made him hardly less popular among his opponents than with his own party.

Balfour Chief Secretary, 1887.

The Government carried on the traditional policy; with one hand it gave Ireland a 'Crimes' Act which enabled the Lord Lieutenant to declare associations to be illegal by his own authority, and to 'proclaim' disturbed districts, whereby the ordinary law was suspended in the proclaimed area. With the other hand it presented a Land Bill for the revision of rents which roused indignation among the landlords.

A bitter newspaper campaign carried on by the Tories against Parnell and the Parnellites brought about a strange episode. They were charged with encouraging and organising the long series of crimes and outrages which had attended the Home Rule and agrarian agitation of the last ten years. Public interest centred on a letter which Parnell was said to have written condoning the Phœnix Park murders. Parnell demanded in the Commons that an inquiry should be made by a select committee into the personal charges brought against him. Instead of this the Government appointed a special commission of three judges to investigate the charges against the members of the two leagues, the Land League and its successor, the National League. In the course of what was practically a great public trial it was proved that the Phœnix Park letter attributed to Parnell was a forgery which the *Times* had been too readily persuaded to accept as genuine; and that there had been more emphatic denunciation of outrages by some leaders than was commonly supposed, but much less than there ought to have been. Generally it may be said that the Report of the Commission left the Unionists satisfied that the case against the Parnellites was very bad indeed, and Home-Rulers equally satisfied that it was not so bad as they had expected. The confession of the forgery of the Phœnix Park letter influenced public opinion more than the rest of the Report put together; and Parnell gained all the popularity which falls to the man

Parnellism and Crime, 1888-9.

who has had a false charge brought against him and has proved its falsity.

Then disaster fell upon the Nationalist party. The Irish leader was charged with a flagrant breach of domestic morals. The charge was admitted to be true. The public does not concern itself with the morals of public men unless their misconduct is forced upon public attention—when that happens it demands that they should retire from public life. The demand was made on Parnell; he refused to retire and fought fiercely to retain the leadership of his party, at the cost of a breach with the Gladstonian Liberals. His party was split into two sections—the smaller, stubbornly loyal to the most successful chief that Irish Nationalism had ever known; the larger, choosing another leader and alliance with the party in Great Britain through whom alone they could hope to attain their political aim. And though Parnell himself died within a twelvemonth, the split was not healed.

Fall of Parnell, 1890.

In 1892, at the end of its sixth year, Parliament was dissolved. The election gave Gladstone a majority of forty—if the eighty Irish Nationalists supported him. He brought in his second Home Rule Bill; this time, retaining Irish representatives at Westminster as well as giving them a Dublin parliament. The Bill was carried in the Commons. The Lords, claiming that the Commons did not truly represent the will of the country, rejected it (1893). Gladstone refused to appeal to the country on the same question twice in little more than twelve months. The Liberals remained in office for nearly two more years (though Gladstone himself retired on account of his great age), while the Lords continued to reject or mutilate their measures.

4. Second Home Rule Bill, 1893.

Then there was another dissolution; the Unionists returned with a sweeping majority; and for fifteen years Irish Home Rule ceased to be a question of practical politics, though the Liberal Unionists became merged in a 'Unionist party' while the Liberal party in opposition remained in alliance with the Irish Nationalists.

The verdict of 1895.

IV. Great Britain: 1886-1895.

The Conservative Ministry—Local Government and Free Education—The Liberal Ministry, 1892-95—The New Labour Movement.

From the introduction of the first Home Rule Bill in 1886 to the rejection of the second in 1893, the Irish problem was constantly in the forefront, occupying the time of Parliament and absorbing public interest. We can now turn to the other matters of domestic importance which were dealt with during the same period down to the final rout of the Liberal party at the General Election of 1895.

1. Second Salisbury ministry, 1886-92.

In the six months of 1886 when Gladstone was in office, there was no room for attempting any serious law-making by the side of the Irish Bills. When Salisbury took office in the August of that year, the ministry contained none but Conservatives. There were so many men of the front rank among the seventy-eight 'Dissentient Liberals'—including Lord Hartington and Joseph Chamberlain—that Salisbury himself not only proposed a coalition, but offered himself to serve under Hartington as Prime Minister. It was not yet clear, however, that the split in the Liberal party was final. Only a year before Conservatism had still been denouncing Chamberlain as a dangerous revolutionist, the embodiment of everything it regarded as most objectionable in Liberalism; it still seemed far from impossible that the advanced wing of the Liberal party would desert Gladstone for Chamberlain, and most improbable that he could ever be fitted into any combination which included Lord Salisbury. The Liberal dissentients were too few to form a Government of their own; a coalition was as yet impracticable. But meanwhile, a Conservative Government, if it showed a reasonable deference to Liberal ideas, could count upon their general support.

Liberal Unionist influence.

So the Conservative ministry was formed; and when Lord Randolph Churchill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, tried to force it to adopt his own views about reducing naval and military expenditure by resigning, his resignation was accepted, very much to his own surprise; and his place in the Cabinet was taken by Mr. Goschen (afterwards Lord Goschen), a Liberal Unionist, though Chamberlain's sympathies were with Lord Randolph. And in the Irish legislation of 1887, the support given by the Liberal Unionists to the Crimes Act was repaid by the favour to tenants shown in the Land Act.

Still more definitely their influence made itself felt in the great measure of the next year, 1888, the Local Government Act; a measure which in fact caused no little anxiety in ultra-Conservative circles, while in the main it met with approval throughout the ranks of the Liberal Opposition as well as of the Liberal supporters of the Government.

2. Local Government.

In the boroughs, which had been created by charters in the Middle Ages or later, 'local government' had for centuries been in the hands of the borough corporations; that is, the corporations had legal powers for making local regulations which could be enforced by law—for levying local taxes (called rates) from owners or occupiers of land, and spending the money levied for the benefit of the borough. Outside the boroughs powers of the same sort, but much more limited, had been mainly in the hands of the county magistrates. In 1835 the Municipal Corporations Act had changed the method by which the councils of the town corporations were appointed, so that they became practically bodies elected by the rate-payers; but the county government remained with the magistrates, most of whom were landowners, or connected with the landed gentry. It would not be unfair to say that in the country the parish was ruled by the squire and the parson, and the combined parishes by a group of squires and parsons.

Local Government Act, 1888.

Now in 1888, a Local Government Act was passed, which set up county councils in place of the magistrates as the authority for administrating the affairs of the county. At the same time a number of large towns were separated from the 'county' in which they were situated, and were given their own councils. Thus after the Act was passed, each of the large towns had its own elected council, and also each county (or, where the county was too large for the management of a single body, it was divided under two or more county councils). Every male owner or occupier of land or houses who could be called upon to pay 'rates' had a vote in the county council elections; for it was not yet admitted that women were properly to be entrusted with a vote. In each council three-fourths of the members were elected (these were the councillors) by the rate-payers, and the rest (aldermen and officers) were elected by the councillors. The powers bestowed on the councils for levying and spending rates were larger than those which had before been possessed by the magistrates. The counties were also divided

into districts, each having its own elected district council, to look after particular branches of the work.

Thus, broadly speaking, these were two big results of the Local Government Act; the new local authority could undertake a great deal more work, and require the rate-payers to provide a great deal more money for the purpose, than the old local authority—but, it was elected by, and responsible to, the rate-payers themselves, as Members of Parliament and ministers are chosen by and responsible to the parliamentary electors; if the local government did not satisfy the rate-payers, the councillors would lose their seats at the next election. Whereas before, the magistrates, who were not elected but appointed without reference to the rate-payers, could go their own way without regard to the wishes of the rate-payers.

By anxious Conservatives who were frightened by the Bill, and by the Opposition who saw Salisbury's Government doing very much what the Liberal party wanted to be done, the minister in charge of it was commonly called 'Ritchie the Radical.' Another measure, so 'radical' that many people denounced it as 'Socialistic,' was passed by the same Government in 1890. Education, which had been made compulsory by the Liberals twenty years before, was made free by the Conservatives; the Act released parents from the payment of school fees in the elementary schools (threepence a week for each child), and gave the schools instead a government grant of ten shillings a year for each child; that is, the tax-payers paid the fee instead of the parent.

3. The Liberal ministry, 1892-5.

The whole affair of the 'Parnell Commission' had brought some discredit on the Government; the popular feeling was that it had tried to gain a party victory and had been badly beaten. Consequently the country was much more inclined to Home Rule than it had been in 1886. The fall of Parnell and the split in the Nationalist party produced a reaction. So at the General Election in 1892, there was still a small majority against Home Rule in England, Scotland, and Wales, though there was a majority of forty in favour of it when all the Irish members were added. Salisbury took the view that Home Rule should not be granted unless there was a majority for it in Great Britain without Ireland; so under his leadership the Lords rejected Gladstone's Bill in 1893, believing—rightly as it turned out—that if there were another General Election the country would reject it too. Gladstone denied the right of the Lords to

The Liberals and the Lords.

force a General Election, and went on to introduce a series of Liberal Bills; the Lords held to their view that the majority in the Commons did not represent the will of the country and that they were justified in rejecting all Gladstone's legislation, until a fresh election should prove that the country really wanted it. As a matter of fact, none of Gladstone's measures were very popular. A Bill which actually set up parish councils as well as the county and district councils was allowed to pass—the powers of the new parish councils were very small. A 'Local Option' Bill which would have allowed public-houses to be closed by a local vote pleased the extreme 'temperance' people, but roused the very vigorous opposition of every one who made an income from the sale of intoxicants and of every one who did not see why he should be forbidden to drink lest his neighbour should drink too much.

Then in 1894 Gladstone retired for three reasons. He was eighty-five; his colleagues wanted to spend more on the Navy than he approved; and he did not wish to enter upon a big fight between Lords and Commons. So Lord Rosebery became Prime Minister—and there was a good deal of disagreement between the new premier and the leader of the Liberal party in the Commons, Sir William Harcourt, who took Gladstone's place there. However, the Government went on 'filling up the cup' as their plan was called—passing measures in the Commons which were sure to be rejected by the Lords. The idea was that if they were again returned to power they would have a right to insist on depriving the Lords of a great deal of the power which—as they would then be able to say—had been so grossly misused. The plan was unsuccessful, because when the General Election came the country very clearly showed that it preferred Lord Salisbury's Government to that of the Liberals.

Lord Rosebery, 1894-5.

One measure, however, became law, only because it formed part of the year's Finance Bill or Budget which the Lords could only pass or reject without amendment. Its rejection would have compelled an immediate appeal to the country on the single question of 'mending or ending' the second or hereditary chamber of Parliament, traditionally known as the 'Upper House.' The Budget of 1894 appealed forcibly to the electorate, because it proposed to increase the revenue—and thereby to diminish taxation in general—at the expense of the propertied classes. It was an accepted principle that when a man died his property should not pass undiminished to his heirs, but should pay a toll to the State (or,

Death duties, 1894.

in mediaeval times, to his suzerain). The novelty in Harcourt's Budget was that the 'death duties' payable to the State were to be 'graduated'; that is, instead of being so much in the pound, whether the property was large or small, big estates should pay more in the pound than small estates; the bigger the estate, the bigger was to be the proportion of it which the State could claim. Many people had long held that wealthy people should in justice pay a larger proportion of their wealth to the State than poorer people because they felt the burden of taxation less; but hitherto it had been always answered that this would check the increase of wealth in general, so that in the end the poorer people would gain nothing. The Budget, however, was passed; it did not have the evil results prophesied by its opponents; and since that time the principle of 'graduation' has been applied to the income tax as well as to death duties.

In the Liberal party, however, there were various sections, each of which was bent on obtaining some particular reform about which the party as a whole was not enthusiastic. Nonconformists, for instance, were anxious to have the Church disestablished in Wales (where there were more Nonconformists than Churchmen) as it had been in Ireland; there was a large group of temperance reformers, who wanted the sale of intoxicating liquors to be prohibited or at least greatly restricted by law. On the other hand, nearly all Conservatives and a great many Liberals were opposed to any drastic restrictions; most English Churchmen, of whatever party, were opposed to disestablishment, even in Wales, lest it should lead to disestablishment in England also; and the feeling against Home Rule was growing stronger, not weaker. And so when an accidental defeat of the Government brought on a dissolution in 1895, the Government's persistence in pressing these unpopular proposals caused it to be heavily defeated at the General Election. Conservatives and Liberal Unionists voted together; they were returned with an overwhelming majority; and a Unionist Cabinet was formed by Lord Salisbury, in which the leading Liberal Unionists held a large share of the most important offices. For all practical purposes, the Unionists had become a single solid party as forty years earlier the Liberals and the Peelites had been fused into one party.

The Liberal defeat, 1895.

FINALLY during this period there were signs of a change in the attitude of the labouring classes towards social and political questions. The great trade unions had won such a position that the old leaders were

satisfied to continue on the old lines; skilled labour was very much better off than it had been in the old days. But the unskilled men in the unions had not profited so much; and the great mass of unskilled labour was outside the successful unions and was unorganised. It was therefore very ill contented. The great rush of growing trade in the seventies had been checked, and there was a great deal of unemployment, accompanied by low wages. The trade union leaders had always opposed the doctrine of the Socialists, that the materials, machinery, and means of production generally ought to be in the hands of the manual labourers themselves; but the rank and file were beginning to believe these doctrines, which were being zealously preached to them. Socialism, in short, was spreading; as a reasoned political theory, it was finding a much wider acceptance in intellectual 'middle-class' circles, and among the uninstructed masses it appeared (like Chartism half a century earlier) to provide a short cut to the redistribution of wealth which would give to the manual worker a much larger share in the good things of life. And so before 1895 a Socialist group had created a small Independent Labour party which was determined to support neither Conservatives nor Liberals but to run its own Socialist candidates for as many constituencies as possible. The new party in fact won only a couple of seats in 1895; but it carried off votes which otherwise would probably have been thrown into the Liberal scale, thus leaving Conservatives with a majority in several constituencies which would otherwise have returned the Liberal candidate.

4. The new Labour movement.

V. Great Britain and Ireland: 1895-1902.

Parties—Ireland—Employers and Workmen—Education—Queen Victoria.

THE Unionist party remained in power for ten years, from 1895 till the end of 1905. Until 1902, the four commanding figures in the administration were: the Conservative Lord Salisbury, the head of the Government and leader of the Unionist party in the Lords; the Conservative Mr. Arthur Balfour, leader of the Commons; the (Whig) Liberal Unionist, the Duke of Devonshire (formerly known as Lord Hartington), in the Lords; and the (Radical) Liberal Unionist, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, in the Commons. In 1902 the complete retirement of Lord Salisbury opened the way for changes; so that we take that year instead of 1905 as our limit for this

1. Parties.

chapter, actually marking the close of one period and the opening of another.

Broadly speaking, we may say of this period that domestic politics were dominated by the Conservatism of Lord Salisbury, which nevertheless had to make concessions to the democratic zeal of Chamberlain; who, on the other hand, became the foremost champion of a new Imperialism to which hitherto neither of the great parties had shown any conspicuous leaning—though it is easier to discover its presence in the policy of Beaconsfield than of Gladstone. The Unionist party definitely attached itself to Chamberlain's Imperialism; while the Liberal Opposition tended to form into two camps, Imperialists and anti-Imperialists, the latter denounced by their opponents as 'Little Englanders.' As an Opposition, the Liberals were seriously weakened by this division; no single person could hold, or was ready to try to hold, the position of undisputed leader which Gladstone had held, and an Opposition which was disunited, besides being numerically weak, could be almost disregarded.

The most notable features of the period between 1895 and 1902 belong to this Imperialist movement and come into the Colonial and Indo-Egyptian sections of this chapter; but first we must deal here with the domestic developments.

2. Home Rule rejected.

The election settled the Irish question for the time. It had been before the public for ten years. Two Home Rule Bills had been brought forward, examined and debated; the electorate had on each occasion declared unmistakably against it; no Government was likely to repeat the proposal till it had behind it a majority of the electorate in Great Britain. It remained for the Unionists to prove that Ireland could be governed so satisfactorily through the Parliament at Westminster that she would have no reasonable excuse for demanding a separate parliament in Dublin; that Unionists were as anxious as Home Rulers for the welfare of Ireland, as willing to meet the wishes of the Irish people, as ready to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas, as ready to remove all just causes of complaint—though they remained convinced that an Irish parliament in Dublin could not be trusted to deal fairly by minorities and would be a menace to Imperial unity.

For five-and-twenty years, Liberal and Conservative Governments had been alternately producing one measure after another that was intended to prove the British desire to deal justly and generously with

Irish grievances. The Protestant Church had been disestablished, and freedom of contract had been interfered with in the interests of tenants by one party; by the other some millions of English money had been advanced to enable tenants to become proprietors of their holdings, and British money had been expended on public works for their benefit. But, with the exception of the two Home Rule ministries, every Government had accompanied or followed its benevolent measures by measures of coercion in Ireland, suspending the ordinary law and the ordinary liberties which Englishmen regarded as their own birthright in England. Consequently the ordinary average Irishman had remained convinced that the Englishman was an oppressor who only began to concede justice, tardily and reluctantly, when his oppression was met by violent defiance or crafty evasion of the law.

The past troubles.

But that sentiment had been breaking down. It was impossible not to see that the loyalty of Liberals to the cause of Home Rule had destroyed their political power. The tact and temper of Mr. Balfour in the last Conservative ministry had compelled the goodwill, almost the affection, of his most virulent opponents. The peasantry themselves, profiting from the agrarian legislation, were more prosperous than they had ever been before. Outrages had almost ceased and the coercive laws were everywhere suspended. No new leader wielded the power formerly exercised by Parnell. The Government therefore could make concessions without being charged with yielding to violence and lawlessness. So when the inevitable Land Bill was brought in in 1896, it was very much like the Liberal Bill which had been proposed by Gladstone in 1886. The opposition to it came not from 'the Opposition,' but from the Government side of the House of Commons, among whom it was considered unjust to the landlords, who were of opinion that they were being betrayed by their own party; and though the Lords were inclined to take the same view and the discussions in both Houses were bitter, the Bill was actually carried with no very material changes. Had it been introduced by an avowedly Liberal Government it would probably have never been passed by the Lords.

A calmer atmosphere.

Concessions.

Two years later, in 1898, an effort was made—on lines which had always been advocated by Mr. Chamberlain—to meet the demand for 'Irish self-government' by giving not a parliament, but a large degree of 'local self-government' through elected county and district councils, very much after the fashion of the English Local Government Act.

It seemed that an era of prosperity might really convert Ireland into a law-abiding country prepared to settle down into the union with Great Britain as Scotland had settled down into the union with England a century and a half before.

THE Liberal wing of the Unionist party was responsible for the advanced character of the Irish legislation which was viewed with some alarm by the Conservative wing and with intense disgust by its Irish division. That influence was not prominent in the English legislation of the period. In accordance with the Beaconsfield tradition, the Conservatives desired to be recognised as the true friends of the working man; a new Workman's Compensation Act gave the workman the right to claim from his employer compensation for injuries from accidents suffered in the employer's service. The Opposition Liberals, however, denounced the measure as grossly defective because large classes of employees were excluded from its benefits—among them agricultural labourers and seamen. Moreover, the Liberal party had now cast aside entirely the earlier Liberal doctrine of 'freedom of contract.' Liberal as well as Conservative Governments in the past had permitted 'contracting out,' allowing employers and workmen, or landlords and tenants, to make legal agreements which exempted them from the operation of such special Acts. But Liberals had now come to the conclusion that if 'contracting out' were permitted, employers could practically force the men to accept 'contracting out' agreements; a Bill brought in by the last Liberal ministry had been defeated because the Lords would only pass it if contracting out were permitted. The Unionist Workman's Compensation Act permitted contracting out, and was therefore, in the eyes of the Opposition, a mere sham, from which the employees most in need of it would derive no benefit.

3. Employers' liability.

The question, however, which was now coming to the forefront as a matter of party controversy was that of Education, the particular battle-ground being religious education. Until 1870 the only elementary schools for teaching children whose parents could not afford to pay the whole cost had been those established by religious societies which charged the parents only very low fees and provided for most of the expenses out of funds supplied by voluntary contributions. As a matter of course, those religious societies made a great point of teaching religion in those schools, and of insisting on the particular doctrines of the par-

Education and religious teaching.

ticular religious body—Church of England, Roman Catholic Church, Wesleyans, and so on—to which the society belonged. Foster's Education Act in 1870 had set up, beside these 'National' 'Voluntary,' or 'Denominational' schools, the 'Board' schools, the cost of which was paid out of taxes or rates instead of by religious bodies; and in these schools religious instruction was also given, but only of a kind on which all Christian bodies were supposed to agree. As time passed, however, the voluntary schools more and more found themselves in difficulties. People who were compelled to pay for board schools, as rate-payers and tax-payers, no longer felt it a duty to pay still more in voluntary subscriptions to Church schools. It grew harder and harder for the voluntary schools to get enough money to keep them up to the same standard as board schools; and when education was made 'free' for parents it was obvious that they too must have State aid or perish. They were given the same Government grant as the board schools, ten shillings a year for each child, taking the place of the fees paid by the parents. But still this was not enough, and in 1897 another five shillings a year was added.

Now Nonconformists began to complain that the money they were paying in taxes was being spent upon schools that were giving children 'denominational' teaching, which they regarded as false doctrine, and which did actually mean that in many schools the children were being taught that it is wicked to be a Nonconformist. The claim was made that if schools were helped by public money, their management, and the teaching in them, ought not to be under the control of a particular religious body. On the other hand, the clergy and numbers of lay Churchmen and Churchwomen felt first that it was the duty of the State to maintain the schools; secondly, that so long as they were in any degree maintained by voluntary contributions received only from Churchmen, Churchmen had a right to the decisive voice in their management and teaching; and thirdly, that the religious teaching ought to be that of the Church—which was precisely the thing to which Nonconformists objected. Consequently Nonconformists complained of the 1897 Education Act because the Church schools, though fed by public money, remained Church schools; while zealous Churchmen complained because the public money provided was insufficient.

The Nonconformist demand.

The controversy raged still more fiercely when the third Education Act was brought forward in 1902, proposing that practically the whole cost of the 'voluntary' schools should be paid out of public funds

(apart from the fact that the school buildings were the property of the bodies which had founded them), while the management remained under Church control, though with restrictions which were warmly resented by Churchmen and scoffed at by Nonconformists for precisely opposite reasons. The Act was passed a few weeks after Lord Salisbury had retired and his place as Prime Minister had been taken by Mr. Balfour.

Education Act, 1902.

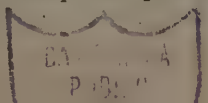
Two years earlier (1900) there had been a General Election—in the middle of the South African war; and as the war itself was the question on which the election[1] had been fought, the Unionists had remained in power with an undiminished majority. In the same year an event occurred which probably gave fresh strength to the growing 'Labour party' in the country. This was the very unexpected decision of the judges on a question of law in what was known as the Taff Vale case. For five-and-twenty years every one had believed that by the Trade Union Act of 1871, no one could bring an action against a trade union as a body on account of the acts of its members or its officers. The Taff Vale judgment declared that (although this was undoubtedly the intention with which the Act had been passed) this was not in fact the meaning of the Act as it was worded, and that damages could be claimed from the funds of a union for injuries due to its action. Practically this meant that, as in the old days, if a union ordered a strike it might find itself legally liable to pay a heavy fine.

4. Taff Vale judgment, 1900.

At the beginning of 1901 the longest reign in English history was ended by the death of Queen Victoria. She had come to the throne at a moment when the influence of the Crown and the popular respect for it was at its lowest; and the accession of such a man as her uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, might have brought about the fall of the monarchy. Her personal virtues, her devotion to duty, her love for her people, and her sound common sense had restored the Crown's popularity. The wisdom with which she had discharged her task as queen, neither effacing herself nor attempting to oppose her own will to that of the ministers responsible to Parliament, had made her the model of a constitutional

Queen Victoria's death, 1901.

[1] This was popularly known as the Khaki Election, because this was the first war in which the troops were put into uniform of the colour called khaki in India.



sovereign. The very length of her reign ensured that any departure from the precedents she had established would in future be regarded as unconstitutional; and when she died, in her eighty-second year, she was genuinely mourned by the whole nation.

VI. The Eastern Empire: 1886-1902.

India—Egypt; the Sudan reconquered.

THROUGHOUT the first fifty years of Queen Victoria's reign, Indian statesmen had always been anxiously watching the expansion of Russia in Central Asia, dreading her gradual approach to the borders of British India, and the growth of her influence over the states beyond the border—Afghanistan, and Persia behind Afghanistan. This dread had led to the first Afghan expedition in 1839 and the second Afghan war in 1879; it had all but brought on a Russian war, over the Penjdeh incident, in 1885. But in 1887 the joint commission for the delimitation of frontiers had completed its work; the frontiers between Russia, Afghanistan, and India were fixed by treaty; and from that time the Russian menace was gradually fading away, while more and more definitely Russia was making the Far East and the Pacific her objective instead of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. In Afghanistan Abdur Rhaman was determined to resist to the utmost any kind of domination, whether by Russians or British; only an aggressive attitude on the part of the British, such as that which had been displayed by Lytton, would drive him into the arms of Russia. British policy, compromising between that of Lytton's 'forward' school and that of Lawrence's 'masterly inactivity' school, was content to organise an invulnerably fortified frontier so supported by railways that it could be made the base for the movement of large armies should they be required for the defence of Afghanistan.

1. India, Russia, and Afghanistan.

Within India, one-third of the country was ruled by the native hereditary princes, under the British suzerainty. They knew now that their thrones and their dynasties were secure, and that the 'Supreme Government' had solemnly discarded for ever the Dalhousie policy of bringing the 'feudatory' states under direct British administration unless active disloyalty or flagrant misgovernment should force that course upon it. They were loyal, because they were thoroughly aware that India, without a Supreme

The Indian princes.

Government able to enforce order in every part of the peninsula, would fall into desperate anarchy—and that no such Supreme Government could be created if that of the British were withdrawn or overthrown. Reason compelled them to accept the British supremacy; sentiment reconciled them to it all the more when the queen assumed the Imperial instead of merely the Regal title and became Empress of India, *Kaisar-i-Hind*. Their loyalty was manifested when, at the time of the Penjdeh incident, they voluntarily came forward with offers to provide military contingents of their own to serve with the Imperial armies if war should be declared with Russia. We are inclined in England to forget that a third part of India is made up of autonomous states ruled wholly by Orientals under Oriental laws, traditions, and customs, which for the most part depend upon the British power and protection for their own security.

Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy in 1885, was succeeded in 1888 by Lord Lansdowne, who was followed by the second Lord Elgin (1894-9), and finally by Lord Curzon, who remained in office till 1905. During the period there were no great administrative changes in the government of British India; but during Dufferin's rule the Indian 'National' Congress came into being. This was a gathering of natives drawn from the educated class, generally though not exclusively Hindus. They were not an elected body, not 'representative' in the sense that members of Parliament are the representatives of their constituencies; but they were often students of European ideas and European teaching, writers in the Press, persons who desired employment in the public services and found advancement barred by the fact that posts of authority and responsibility were practically reserved for the British. They professed to speak as the 'voice of India,' and their main purpose was to demand for Indians a larger and more responsible share in the Government.

The Indian National Congress.

Under Lord Dufferin came also the last expansion of Indian dominion. Lord Amherst and Dalhousie had both found themselves compelled to make war on Burma, and both wars had ended with the annexation of territory in 'farther India'—that is, beyond the Bay of Bengal. Now the attitude of Burma was again causing uneasiness, because at this time the French were showing signs of wishing to lay the foundations of a new 'far-eastern' empire dominating Siam and perhaps Burma. So Dufferin was not ill-pleased when provocative action on the part of King Thebaw gave

Annexation of Burma, 1887.

warrant for an expedition to Burma, the deposition of its troublesome monarch, and its annexation to the Indian Empire. A little later the pressure of the French upon Siam threatened to breed serious trouble; but the combined tact and firmness of Lord Rosebery, who was then at the Foreign Office, checked the aggression of the French; and in 1896 Lord Salisbury came to a settlement with them which was represented as a diplomatic victory for France; though actually, in return for 'graceful concessions' which he knew to be of no practical importance, Salisbury obtained the security desired for Siam.

Siam, 1894-6.

Under Dufferin and his successors the internal progress of India and the military organisation of the frontier and of the Indian forces (largely carried through by Lord Roberts as commander-in-chief) went steadily forward; although, chiefly on the north-west frontier between the Punjab and Afghanistan there were serious troubles. This mountain region was occupied by Pathan tribes or clans, whom the Afghan Amir had not cared to retain as his own subjects, but had willingly handed over to British sovereignty, which desired only to leave them to their own devices so long as they did not deliberately create trouble. But occasionally the movements of British troops, combined with their own natural love of fighting, stirred them to raid British territory or attack British detachments, which made 'punitory expeditions' necessary; sometimes the expedition found itself dealing not with a nest of raiders, but with a confederation of clans; and the result was a prolonged hill-warfare requiring the employment of large forces, in which there were no big battles, no enemy to be caught and crushed, no fortresses or towns to capture, but endless ambushes and snipings in the dark by hidden foes; warfare which only ended when the Pathans grew tired of the game and made voluntary promises of good behaviour.

The North-West Frontier.

EGYPT was not a part of the British Empire, but Britain by her action in 1882 had made herself responsible for Egypt, for reorganising her government, putting her finances on a sound footing, protecting life and property, and finally, guarding her against the 'Mahdist' tribes of the Sudan—which Egypt was quite unable to do for herself without foreign aid and foreign control. The Sudan had been evacuated on Gordon's death in 1885. The military frontier between Egypt and the Sudan had then been established at Wadi Halfa on the Nile—the only gateway was the Nile

2. Egypt: the British occupation.

valley, on the west of which lay the desert, impassable for want of water. Any plans for the reconquest of the Sudan were necessarily postponed. Meanwhile for all practical purposes the governor of Egypt was Lord Cromer, the organisation and training of an Egyptian army were entrusted to British officers under the British 'Sirdar,' Sir Herbert Kitchener, British troops ensured order, British officials supervised the general administration and the collection of taxes, and British engineers were engaged on obtaining for the State a control over the waters of the Nile, on which the fertility of Egypt was entirely dependent. Lord Salisbury, no less than Gladstone, maintained that the Occupation, though necessary, was intended to continue only till Egypt should have had sufficient training to manage her own affairs with a reasonable chance of success; for Britain, the control of Egyptian administration, the development of Egyptian resources, the protection of the 'fellahin' (the native peasantry) from tyranny and extortion, the safe-guarding of the interests of Europeans in Egypt, were a burden and a responsibility from which she would willingly be freed, but which she could neither cast off nor entrust to another Power. And the population at large prospered as it had never prospered before, though the class which had reaped great profits from dishonesty and corruption in the old days was very ill-pleased at being deprived of its ill-gotten gains by the British system.

The Sudan.

But in the Sudan the power of Mahdism was growing. The first Mahdi died, but a new prophet took his place, called the Khalifa, as the successors of Mohammed had been called the Khalifs for nearly thirteen centuries. The hosts of his fanatical followers increased, and anxious observers feared that the day was coming when they would sweep like a deluge over Egypt and that the old battle between Christendom and Mohammedanism would be renewed. There was certainly no doubt that Mahdism must be fought: and Kitchener was patiently, silently, and scientifically preparing not only to fight but to destroy it.

The Reconquest, 1896-8.

The army was being trained, drilled, and disciplined; the fellah was learning to be a soldier under leaders who knew their business. In 1895 the Khalifa's power was growing, and menacing. In 1896 the Egyptian frontier station was pushed forward up the Nile from Wadi Halfa to Dongola; and with the advancing army advanced also a railway. By the beginning of 1898 Kitchener was ready for the decisive campaign. In April the army, pressing forward, always with the ever-advancing railway, routed a

force of 'dervishes'—the Khalifa's fanatical followers—on the Atbara. At the end of August it was close to Omdurman, no great distance from Khartum. On 2nd September the Khalifa's hordes flung themselves upon the British and Egyptian columns. There was a critical moment in the great battle of Omdurman, when it seemed that the British line, actually pierced by the rush of the dervishes, would be overwhelmed. The situation was saved by the prompt daring of General Hector Macdonald; the dervishes were flung back, mown down, shattered, broken to pieces; the Mahdist power was completely destroyed; the Khalifa himself perished; the ablest of his captains was captured. Mahdism without a prophet was meaningless. When the tribesmen were fighting for the 'Faith,' death had no terrors for them; they charged on the British guns though they were being mown down in swathes, in the confident belief that all who fell would go straight to the joys of the Moslem Paradise. While they had a Khalifa to believe in, they believed also that they were fighting in a holy cause; if there was no Khalifa there was no sacred cause for which to fight. The Sudan was reconquered at the battle of Omdurman.

Omdurman, Sept. 1898.

Still, however, there was trouble ahead for the British. During the last eighteen months, a small French expedition had been making its dangerous way northward from French Nigeria—not an army but a small force of the native soldiery drilled and led by a few French officers under the command of Major Marchand. They had penetrated as far as Fashoda on the Upper Nile, where they had fortified their position and hoisted the French flag. There could be no doubt that they would have been overwhelmed and wiped out, if the Khalifa and his dervishes had not been thoroughly occupied with the advance of the Anglo-Egyptian army. No force of three hundred men would have had the faintest chance of survival if the Mahdist hordes had flung themselves upon it. They had escaped because the dervishes were otherwise engaged. If the Khalifa had won at Omdurman, Marchand's gallant band would have been disposed of in their turn. But immediately after his victory Kitchener learnt the first news of the presence of a white force on the Upper Nile. He found that Marchand himself, and the French Government, were disposed to claim that the southern Sudan up to the point reached by the expedition was French territory. The claim was passionately urged in a portion of the French Press; but the facts were clear that the territory was in the first place within the area over

The Fashoda incident.

which Egypt had still claimed sovereignty even when her garrisons had been temporarily withdrawn; secondly, that it had not been 'conquered' by the French merely because a French expedition had penetrated it and hoisted the French flag at Fashoda; and thirdly, that the expedition itself had only been saved from annihilation by the British advance. The French Government realised the facts, and—at considerable cost to its own popularity—withdrew its claims; though it was long before the French people ceased to feel that it had suffered humiliation over the affair of Fashoda, and that it had been robbed of its conquest by British arrogance.

VII. The Colonial Empire: (i) 1886-1895.

Imperialism—South Africa.

THE great feature of the period under review in this chapter was the growth of the idea which was called Imperialism, within the British Empire—the idea which in the twentieth century passed into that of the British Commonwealth. Until the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, nearly every one had looked upon Colonies as 'children' of the 'Mother Country,' who in due time would 'grow up' and set up for themselves as independent sovereign states—friendly states, it was hoped, because of the sentimental bond of kinship, but with no closer bond than that of sentiment. Meanwhile the Colony was useful to the Mother Country, because there was naturally a close commercial intercourse; the Mother Country was useful to the Colony because her fleets prevented the intrusion of European Powers. On the other hand, the Colonies were not always satisfied that the Mother Country was sufficiently alive to their interests, and the Mother Country sometimes found them a cause of friction with other colonising Powers and a source of considerable anxiety and expense. Even Beaconsfield, who is sometimes regarded as the father of British Imperialism, had in a moment of irritation described them as a 'millstone round our neck.' It was the Indian rather than the Colonial Empire that appealed to his imagination.

1. Mother Country and Colonies.

But there were statesmen who had taken hold of a different idea. Even before 1850, Lord Durham and Lord Elgin were inspired by a belief in the unity of the Empire, a belief that it ought to be bound together by common interests, traditions, and ideals as well as by a vague sentiment; strong to resist attack by reason

Imperialism.

of its union, yet enjoying, the world over, a freedom broader and deeper than any empire the world has ever known. The notion that, with growth and expansion, new binding links should be formed, and the association should grow closer instead of looser, was planting itself, but only in the minds of a few. It was enough for most people that the Colonies should be loyal until the time came for them to 'cut the painter'; which none of them thought of doing, though Canadian loyalty had more than once been severely tried by English indifference.

Then the union of Canada after the British North America Act of 1867 had awakened the idea of similar group-unions of the South African Colonies and the Australasian Colonies; but the Colonies themselves were in no haste to adopt it, each one disliking to surrender any part of the independence it enjoyed under the Constitutions set up in 1854; much as the Confederate states in America had kicked against the authority of the Federal Government. Still, in 1883, a first step had been taken in Australasia by the setting up of a Federal Council which in fact could do little more than express its opinion upon questions of common interest to the whole Australian group. And it was precisely at this time that the movement began to stir in England. A hundred years before, a Glasgow professor wrote a book which was destined to change the fiscal policy of Great Britain from Mercantilism to Free Trade. Now a Cambridge professor wrote a book, *The Expansion of England*, which brought before the eyes of younger men a new vision of Empire—not of conquest, but of a united fellowship, mighty in its unity. Others had seen the vision, but they had seemed unpractical dreamers. But now, it was the coming men who were beginning to see it—the men through whom it would become a practical thing.

The Federal-group idea.

The Imperialist movement.

In 1887 Queen Victoria's Jubilee was celebrated—the fiftieth year of her reign. It was made the occasion for a pageant of Empire which touched—though as yet but slightly—the imagination of the myriads of spectators; to whom the display was some revelation of its magnitude and its diversity—things which they knew but had not before thought about. But it was also the opportunity for the first Colonial Conference; for the Colonies had sent their prime ministers to take part in the celebration (as India had sent a number of native princes), and they met together in council with representatives of the British Government to discuss questions of common interest to the whole Empire—notably that of

First Colonial Conference, 1887.

Imperial defence, and the share the several Colonies might be willing to take in the common burden which was then borne by the United Kingdom alone.

Now the institution of the Australian Federal Council had been adopted to a great extent because the Colonies were dissatisfied with the attitude of the home Government on the question of French and German expansion in the Pacific which seemed to be threatening Australian interests; it was hoped that, by means of the Federal Council, Australian influence would make itself more decisively felt in the home Government's policy. The Colonial Conference was a sign that the home Government was readier than it had been before to give full weight to Colonial opinion. Still during the Salisbury administration of 1886-92 it did not seem that the new ideas had made much progress among leading statesmen. The doctrine of Imperial Federation was being preached, but among prominent politicians, its principal advocate was not a member of the Conservative Cabinet, but the Liberal Lord Rosebery, who commanded the confidence of the younger more than of the older members of his party. The doctrine meant no more than this: that the time was at hand when the Colonies would be unwilling to leave the supreme control of a world-wide empire in the hands of a parliament elected within the British Isles. If the Empire was to be held together, the supreme authority would have to become one in which the Colonies would have their share; a new Imperial Constitution would be necessary, and the only historical form of constitution which would meet the case was that of a Federation. If that failed to find acceptance, something new, without historical precedent, would have to be devised. As a matter of fact, the scheme did not find acceptance, by reason of practical difficulties; the Colonies, still shy of group-federation, were yet more shy of Imperial Federation. No one imagined that Federation could be brought about except by universal consent. And even in Great Britain enthusiasm for a closer union had not yet become general.

Imperial Federation.

But before the fall of Lord Rosebery's Liberal Government in 1895, Imperialism had taken strong root in a section of the Liberal party. And when the Unionists came into power, the Colonial Office was placed in the hands of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who, having become a convert to Imperialism, did what Lord Rosebery had failed to do; he converted the country to the Imperial idea and convinced it that Imperialism was practical, not visionary — that the Empire was a splendid inheritance, a power

Joseph Chamberlain.

making for the welfare of the world, which must by no means be suffered to dissolve from a pusillanimous dread of responsibility. And this came about as the result of events in South Africa which were suddenly forced upon the attention of the British Public at the close of 1895.

2. South Africa; the Transvaal conventions.

THE movement of affairs in South Africa had not attracted so much attention as it deserved. The convention with the Transvaal Boers in 1881 had restored the Transvaal Republic; but it had set definite limits to the Transvaal territory, which was cut off from all access to the Ocean, it had prohibited the Republic from making treaties or agreements with states outside its borders, and it had expressly affirmed the British 'suzerainty.' In 1884 the Transvaal had obtained a fresh convention, in which the term suzerainty did not occur. No one raised the question whether the claim to suzerainty was given up: later the Boers asserted, and the British denied, that after this 'London Convention' there was no more British suzerainty.

The Uitlanders, 1887-95.

In the same year, 1884, gold was discovered in Transvaal territory; then more gold. In 1887, gold-seekers were flocking into the Transvaal, and it was soon apparent that in course of time the Boer population would be swamped by the immigrants whom they called Uitlanders, 'outlanders.' The gold-seekers were not gold-diggers of the old kind that we read of in stories of Californian or Australian gold hunts; the mining land was taken up by companies instead of being broken up into countless small 'claims'; the men who did the digging were hired labourers employed by the owners, most of whom were 'financiers' from any and every nation in Europe. And the President of the Transvaal Republic, Paul Kruger, saw that the Transvaal State could extract a very handsome revenue out of the gold-seekers. They were welcome to dig, but they must pay full price to the Transvaal: and it was only at a very big price that it was worth while for him to let them dig. If they chose to pay it, that was good. If they did not they might go—and his 'burghers' would be well quit of their presence. If they stayed, he would not make matters too pleasant for them. Paul Kruger in his boyhood had taken part in the Great Trek of 1836. Hostility to the British was in his blood, and jealousy of British domination where the Dutch ought to have been supreme. To him the Uitlander, of whatever race, though above all if of British race, was

President Kruger.

as an Egyptian to the Israelites. And Kruger had his own dream of a Dutch South Africa with the Transvaal Republic at the head of it.

But at the Cape there was another dreamer of dreams, who was at the same time as practical as Kruger himself. In Cecil Rhodes's dream, there was a united South Africa, and something much bigger. Europe in 1884 was discussing the partition of Africa, and Rhodes saw a British sovereignty reaching continuously from the Cape to Egypt. He was an Englishman, still young, who had gone from Oxford to the Cape for the sake of his health, and stayed there for the sake of his own fortune and the magnification of the British Empire.

Cecil Rhodes.

The two Boer Republics lay between the British colony and Central Africa, while between the Transvaal and the eastern ocean, the territory was Portuguese. But on the west of the Republics the British held the gateway into Bechuanaland, which was the road to the country of the Matabele and the Mashona between the Limpopo and the Zambesi, and so to Nyassaland. The Anglo-German agreement in 1886 left a large belt of Central African territory unappropriated between the Belgian Congo and German East Africa, so that the way was still open for creating an unbroken line of British territory between Cape Colony and the Egyptian Sudan—or, since Egypt had become, in fact if not in name, a British Protectorate, from Cape Town to Cairo.

An attempt on the part of the Transvaal to obtain control of Bechuanaland was foiled by the British in 1886. In the following years Rhodes, now the leading figure in Cape Colony politics, was working out the penetration of the lands north of the Limpopo, and in 1889 he procured from England an administrative Charter for his 'South Africa Company'; the Matabele king, Lobengula, was induced to make concessions of trading and mining rights to the company, and to recognise the British sovereignty. In 1890 the new Anglo-German agreement added to German East Africa the territory which lay between it and the Belgian Congo, but reserved certain rights of passage to the British. In 1894, Lobengula having broken his agreements, Matabeleland was annexed; so that the two Dutch Republics were completely encircled by territories which were either British or Portuguese; and the British Chartered Company's territories, 'Rhodesia,' were under the administration of Dr. Jameson, as the lieutenant of Mr. Rhodes, who was Premier at the Cape.

The Chartered Company, 1889.

Meanwhile, the position of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal was growing more and more intolerable. They were subjected to heavy taxation, to more than all the civil and military burdens of the citizens or 'burghers' of the Republic, and at the same time they were denied all the political rights of citizenship, rights which in any European state could be acquired after five years of residence at most. The Uitlander society was congregated at the gold-reef town of Johannesburg; it was clamorous for political liberty, while declaring itself to be subjected to a monstrous tyranny; excited imaginations were ready to believe that the Boers were planning something still more monstrous; and on New Year's Day, 1896, London was startled by the news that Dr. Jameson on his own responsibility had crossed the Transvaal border at the head of a small armed force, to rescue Johannesburg.

The Uitlanders, 1895.

VIII. The Colonial Empire: (ii) 1895-1902.

The South African Crisis—The South African War—
From Empire to Commonwealth.

BEFORE the week was out England discovered that the 'Jameson raid' was not an act of generous daring, but a blundering move in the political game of South Africa; of which the astute Oom Paul, as Transvaalers called their President, took full advantage. He knew what was coming and laid his trap for the invaders, who rode straight into it, and had no choice but to surrender ignominiously. The intention had been that the Uitlanders, driven to desperation, should raise a revolution at Johannesburg; Jameson—after the fashion of the Elizabethan adventurers—was to strike in on his own responsibility; the revolution and the raid would be justified by their success without bringing either the Cape Government or the British Government into the affair at all; and the Transvaal under Uitlander control would become a loyal member of the British Empire. Unfortunately, the Uitlanders were not prepared to rise; they sat still and left Jameson to be captured. He, to the consternation of Rhodes, had tried to strike when there was no excuse for doing so; he had put himself hopelessly in the wrong; he had made it impossible to doubt that Rhodes was implicated; and he had made it very easy to believe that the British Government itself was in the plot.

1. The Jameson raid, 1895-6.

Kruger made full use of his opportunity. The Transvaal Government had shown its own shrewdness and strength; the world should recognise its magnanimity. The raiders were handed over to the British Government to deal with; the Uitlanders who were manifestly in the plot were punished with a humiliating mildness. On the other hand, the British trial of the raiders revealed so little, and the raiders themselves were let off so easily, that half the British public, three-fourths of South Africa, and the whole of Europe, were convinced that the Government itself had the best of reasons for wishing the truth to remain hidden. And thenceforth every remonstrance addressed by the British to the Transvaal Government had its answer in the Jameson raid, while Rhodes himself had to resign his position as Premier of Cape Colony.

Kruger's trump card.

Now the 1884 convention certainly left the British Government without any authority to order the internal affairs of the Transvaal Republic. If those affairs were ill-managed, or oppressively managed, it could only remonstrate. It was no less clear from the British point of view that the Transvaal could not enter upon any sort of independent arrangements or agreements with any foreign Powers, without breaking the convention. Yet no one doubted that Kruger was in communication with European Powers, and every one in South Africa believed that he was planning and shaping a union of the Dutch in South Africa—the Orange Free State, which was almost entirely Dutch, and the Dutch in Cape Colony, who were something like half of the white population—with the intention of putting an end to British paramountcy and establishing a complete Dutch ascendency under the leadership of the Transvaal, which was to be to South Africa what Prussia was to the German Empire. And he stolidly declined to relax the pressure on the Uitlanders in the Transvaal.

Kruger's aims.

In 1897 Mr. Chamberlain sent out Sir Alfred Milner to South Africa as High Commissioner, to deal with the whole very strained situation. The appointment was welcomed not only by Unionists but by the whole Liberal party, since Sir Alfred had already won in Egypt a reputation as an extremely able and tactful administrator, impartial and 'sympathetic'—that is, with the art of understanding the prejudices and removing the misconceptions of the people with whom he had to deal. But Milner's examination of the situation led him to conclusions much less favourable to the Boers and more favourable to the Uitlanders than some Liberals, who declined to revise their own opinions in the light of his judgment, had expected.

Sir Alfred Milner, 1897.

At the beginning of 1899 the position had become extremely critical. What appeared to the British to be a very gross miscarriage of justice had just occurred in the Transvaal. Milner sent home a dispatch in which it was declared that unless the British took a very firm stand, their authority must disappear altogether. The Boers were carrying things with a high hand because, since 1881, they were convinced that neither British Governments nor British armies would stand their ground if boldly faced. The position of British subjects in the Transvaal had become intolerable; Britain was entitled to demand for them there the rights which no one had ever denied to Transvaalers or Free-Staters in Cape Colony. If Kruger were once convinced that the British meant what they said, he would give way; but if he were not wise enough to yield, no very great display of force would be required to bring him to reason.

The crisis, 1899.

In June the High Commissioner held a conference with the President in neutral territory—at Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State. The British demanded that Uitlanders should be given the franchise after five years' residence (since until they had a voice in the government, they would have no chance of meeting with ordinary fair play). Kruger demanded a positive guarantee that the British would not interfere in any way with the Transvaal government—in return for which he would submit to his volksraad, or parliament, a proposal that Uitlanders should receive the franchise after seven years' residence—a proposal which they might adopt or reject as they chose.

The Bloemfontein Conference.

These terms could not be accepted; so judged the Unionist party and the Imperialist Liberals; though the latter were of opinion that the situation would never have become so serious but for the bungling of the Government since the Jameson raid. British authority, British paramountcy, must be maintained in South Africa, and its existence now was at stake. If Kruger insisted upon challenging an armed conflict, the British Empire would support the British Government, which unfortunately did not in the least realise how hard the conflict would be.

The Transvaal President intended to fight, He too had miscalculated. He had been secretly procuring armaments for some time; he believed that his burghers were more than a match for the British troops, and that after one or two reverses the British would collapse. Moreover, he believed that Europe would intervene to support him, as well as the Orange Free

The gage of battle (Oct.).

State and the Dutch in Cape Colony. On 9th October he demanded the withdrawal of the British troops from the frontier ; on 12th October the Transvaal forces invaded Natal, in alliance with the Orange Free State.

THE British forces actually in South Africa were few and were scattered at different points on a great semicircle, with Ladysmith at the north-eastern end, Mafeking and Kimberley at the north-western. 2. The Boer invasion. The Boers within the circle could strike in strength at any point they chose. They chose to devote themselves to the siege of Ladysmith where the main British force lay, and of Kimberley in which was the man against whom their animosity was keenest, Cecil Rhodes ; they also attacked the small outpost at Mafeking. But the three fortresses held them at bay and they missed the opportunity of sending a strong force into the Cape Colony to call their friends among the Cape Dutch to arms. Consequently the Cape Dutch did not rise. In November reinforcements and commanders were arriving from England. In December columns were advancing under Lord Methuen to relieve Kimberley, and under Sir Redvers Buller to relieve Ladysmith. Boer forces held the passage of the Modder River covering Kimberley, and the Tugela, covering Ladysmith. Methuen forced the Modder ; but on 9th December another column under General Gatacre, striking at a Boer force which was entering Cape Colony, was trapped and compelled to surrender at Stormberg. The Black Week. On the 10th Methuen attempted a night surprise of the Boer position at Magersfontein, when the troops engaged were trapped and cut up, and the British had to fall back again. On the 15th Buller tried to cross the Tugela at Colenso, and was heavily repulsed.

The British woke up to the fact that they had a very tough enemy to crush—but the thing had to be done. Fresh forces were poured into South Africa, including contingents of zealous volunteers from Canada and Australasia as well as from Great Britain. The British effort, 1900. Lord Roberts of Kandahar was placed in command, with Lord Kitchener of Khartum as his chief of staff. The campaign was promptly planned and organised. The three fortresses were still holding out stubbornly, though the Ladysmith garrison was becoming exhausted from shortage of provisions. The great attack was to be on the west. Buller, left to himself, met with another repulse at Spion Kop ; but a sweeping cavalry movement led by General French

turned the flank of the Boers before Kimberley. The siege was raised; the retreating Boers under General Cronje were forced to turn to bay at Paardeberg, where after hard fighting and prolonged bombardment, they were compelled to surrender (27th February). On the same day Buller carried the enemy's position at Pieter's Hill, and on 3rd March the relieving force was in Ladysmith. On 13th March Lord Roberts was in Bloemfontein, the Free State capital. On 17th May the sporting defence of Mafeking was ended by the arrival of a relieving column—an event which sent London at least into a delirium of rejoicing; on 5th June, Roberts, whose advance had been delayed by an epidemic of typhoid or 'enteric' among his troops, entered Pretoria, the Transvaal capital. The annexation of both the Republics was proclaimed; by the end of September the Dutch field armies had been broken up by the very much larger British forces. Roberts, pronouncing that the war was 'practically over,' returned to England, leaving Kitchener to finish up what remained to be done.

The finishing up took eighteen months. The Boers declined to consider themselves beaten, and kept up a vigorous guerrilla warfare, like the Spaniards against the French in the Peninsular war. But though Europe, entirely misinformed as to the facts, denounced British iniquity and proclaimed its sympathy with the stubborn Dutch, no European Power saw its way to armed intervention on their behalf. The resistance was slowly and patiently worn down, till even the most indomitable of the Boer leaders saw that it was hopeless. On 15th May 1902 they accepted the terms offered by Lord Kitchener at Vereeniging. They were beaten simply because if they had gone on fighting the surviving remnant of them would soon have been prisoners of war. The Peace of Vereeniging was signed on 31st May.

The guerrilla war, 1900-2.

The terms were extraordinarily generous—and this time there was no possibility, as there had been in 1881, of doubting that the generosity was genuine. The former semi-independent republics were to lose their autonomy, and were to be administered as Crown Colonies; but self-government was to be restored as soon as time had proved their loyalty. For their citizens, there was to be complete amnesty for all who would take the oath of allegiance. The victors, instead of demanding an indemnity, provided £3,000,000 for the reinstatement of the ruined farms. Even those of the Cape Dutch who could by no possibility deny that they had been guilty of rebellion and treason

The Peace of Vereeniging, May 1902.

were merely deprived of the franchise. And presently the Boers were to show that they could be as firm in their loyalty as they had been stubborn in their defiance.

3. The new ideal

The South African war proved to be the touchstone of 'Imperialism' throughout the Empire. Much more than the 'Jubilee' celebrations of 1887, those of the second or 'Diamond' Jubilee of 1897 had impressed upon the public in Great Britain and countless visitors from oversea not only the splendour of the British Empire, but the tremendous responsibilities it imposed upon all who were of the 'British' race which had created that Empire. The Empire had been built up, not from mere lust of conquest—the desire to *take*—but from the desire also to *give*, to spread that ordered liberty, and the love of it, on which the race prided itself. No other people on earth had ever come into such a heritage, and this people awoke, as it had never awakened before, to the consciousness that it must prove itself worthy of it. The British had taken upon themselves in Africa what a poet has called the White Man's burden. Duty and honour required them to bear it, not merely pride, though pride would perhaps have been a sufficient motive for most of them. When the call came to fight, the Colonies rallied to it without hesitation, and in doing so they marked the moment when they had passed into full manhood. They were no longer the 'Colonies' of the Empire; they became the 'Dominions' in the Commonwealth. That title had hitherto been borne only by Canada; within a few years it was to be common to all the 'white' Colonies.

The Commonwealth of Australia, 1901.

And it was in the hour of the crisis that the Australian group asserted its distinct nationhood by federation in the Australian Commonwealth, forming a union which differed from that of Canada in this—that the several states retained all their several rights except such as were handed over in precise terms to be exercised by the Central or Federal Government; whereas in Canada the Central or Federal Government exercised all rights except such as were retained in express terms for the exercise of the several Provincial Governments. The Commonwealth of Australia, sanctioned by the supreme Imperial Authority—'the Queen in Parliament' at Westminster—was proclaimed on the first day of the twentieth century—New Year's Day, 1901.

SUMMARIES

Acts of Parliament: 1886-1902.

Local Government Act (1888) applied the principle of the Municipal Corporations Act (1835) to the government of other large towns, and of the counties. It set up County Councils, with subordinate District Councils, elected by the rate-payers, with large powers of expenditure and of levying rates, absorbing powers hitherto exercised by the unpaid magistrates. Greater London was constituted a County, while the City of London retained its own corporation.

Free Education Act (1891) abolished the fee of 3d. per week payable by parents for each of their children in Elementary schools, and substituted a government grant of 10s. per year, per child, payable out of the revenue raised by taxation.

Parish Councils Act (1894) added elected Parish Councils with very limited powers, to the County and District Councils of the 1888 Local Government Act.

Death Duties Budget (1894) increased, extended, and graduated, the share of property claimed for the Revenue on the death of the owner.

Education Act (1897) placed the direction of Elementary education under the control of a Government Board of Education.

Australian Commonwealth Act (1900) sanctioned constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia, as from 1st January 1901.

Education Act (1902) provided for the support of the 'Voluntary' schools out of the rates, while retaining their management in the hands of the religious bodies which had created them and in part maintained them hitherto.

Chronology: 1886-1902.

1886. *Feb.-July.* Third Gladstone ministry.
June. First Home Rule Bill rejected.
Aug. Second Salisbury ministry (Conservative).
African agreement with France and Germany.
1887. First Colonial Conference.
Queen Victoria's Jubilee.
India: Annexation of Burma.
Indian National Congress.
Delimitation of Frontiers.
1888. Local Government Act.
William II. German Emperor.

1889. Parnell Commission.
South African Chartered Company.
1890. Fall of Parnell.
Second African agreement with Germany and France.
Fall of Bismarck.
1891. Free Education Act.
1892. *Aug.* Fourth Gladstone administration.
1893. Second Home Rule Bill defeated in the Lords.
1894. *March.* Rosebery ministry.
Harcourt's Death-Duties Budget.
Matabeleland annexed.
Treaty with Japan.
1895. *July.* Third Salisbury ministry:
Chamberlain Colonial Secretary.
1895-96. Jameson Raid.
1896. *Franco-Russian Alliance.*
Egyptian Frontier advanced to Dongola.
Venezuela Boundary dispute.
Irish Land-Purchase Act.
1897. The Powers and Crete.
The scramble for China.
Sir Alfred Milner in South Africa.
The 'Diamond' Jubilee.
1898. *May.* Death of Gladstone.
Spanish-American War.
Sept. Omdurman and Fashoda. Reconquest of Sudan.
Irish Local Government Act.
1899. London Government Act.
First Hague Conference.
June. Bloemfontein Conference.
Oct. Beginning of South African War.
Dec. Magersfontein, Stormberg, and Colenso.
1900. Siege of the Peking Legation.
Feb. Relief of Kimberley. Paardeberg.
March. Relief of Ladysmith.
Bloemfontein occupied.
May. Relief of Mafeking.
June. Pretoria occupied.
Oct. March 1902. The Guerrilla war.
The 'Khaki election.

1900. Taff Vale Judgment.
1901. *Jan.* 1. Commonwealth of Australia.
Jan. 22. Death of Queen Victoria.
1901-10. EDWARD VII.
1902. *May* 31. Peace of Vereeniging.
July. Lord Salisbury retires.
Mr. Balfour Prime Minister.
Education Act passed.

Ministries: 1886-1902.

1886. ***Feb.-July.*** Mr. Gladstone Prime Minister.
1886, *Aug.-Aug.*, 1892. Lord Salisbury. Mr. Goschen (Unionist) Chancellor of the Exchequer; the rest of the ministry Conservative.
1892, *Aug.-Feb.*, 1894. Mr. Gladstone. Lord Rosebery Foreign Minister; Sir W. Vernon Harcourt Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Asquith Home Secretary.
1894, *Feb.-June*, 1895. Lord Rosebery. The ministry as before.
1895, *June-July*, 1902. Lord Salisbury. Mr. Balfour First Lord of the Treasury; Mr. Chamberlain Colonial Secretary.
From 1902. *July.* Mr. Balfour.

CHAPTER XIV

THE OPENING CENTURY: 1902-1914.

I. The Powers: 1902-1908.

Great Britain—The Entente—German Experiments—
The Hague Conferences.

DURING the latter years of the nineteenth century Britain had always kept the same attitude towards foreign powers. She had not sought either close association or quarrels with any of them; if difficulties arose, she was always ready to make 'graceful concessions' provided that they were not directly injurious to her own interests; while Lord Salisbury's reputation enabled him to go farther in that direction than any Liberal ministry could go without being violently denounced for its weakness. She had no desire for aggressive interference with her neighbours, but in the conduct of her own affairs she went her own way, maintaining her navy at a strength which made it impossible for any other nation to hope to attack her with success. Russia was the only power with which she could possibly be engaged in an armed conflict by land, and Russia after 1887 had turned her attention from the Near East and Central Asia to the remote north-east, where her interests did not directly conflict with those of the British Empire. 1. British isolation.

Still, she stood alone. Between her and Russia there was still constant mistrust; France was always resentful of her position in Egypt and suspected her of hostility to French ambitions both in North Africa and in the Far East. The German people, who had come last among the powers into the race for colonial expansion, had convinced themselves that Britain was intensely jealous of their colonial movement and of their growing trade, and that she was endeavouring by underhand methods to undermine or to obstruct both. The German Kaiser, like Napoleon I., saw in the British Empire the great obstacle to his own world-domination. The Austrian Empire had no ill-will to Britain; but between the two there were no common interests to attract them together. Italy, the weakest of the Great

powers, was the only one among them in which the feeling towards Britain was definitely friendly.

Grouping of the Powers.

On the European Continent, however, the powers by the end of the nineteenth century had definitely formed into two groups, the Central or Triple Alliance between the German and Austrian Empires and Italy, and the Dual Alliance between France and Russia. Great Britain stood outside both combinations. The small Balkan states, bearing little goodwill to each other, were anti-Austrian or anti-Russian according as they were more, or less, Slavonic; while all alike detested their old oppressor the Turk. And the Turkish Sultan, Abdul Hamed, had before 1902 been taught by the Kaiser that in all Europe there was only one power which wished him well. And the Kaiser had got his reward. The Germans were to build and control a railway from the coast to Baghdad—which was intended to be for them what the Suez Canal was for the British.

2. The Entente, 1904-8.

Now early in the new century there came a change. France discovered that Britain bore her no ill-will, and was more than ready to dispose of all the outstanding matters on which there was disagreement between the two powers, on friendly give-and-take principles. As soon as the French Government and the French people became ready to trust British honesty, friction disappeared. Probably the change of temper was largely due to the personal popularity which King Edward VII. won, on a visit to France. The new goodwill was established, and a general understanding or *Entente* between the Governments was reached in 1904 though there was no formal alliance. France being the ally of Russia, and at last in really cordial relations with Britain, it was comparatively easy for those two powers, with France as a link between them, to adopt the new attitude of mutual confidence and goodwill; in 1907-8 they too adjusted their differences—which were mainly concerned with Persia—and the 'Triple Entente' was established. All of which was extremely annoying to Germany, where it had been a point of policy, since 1871, to encourage ill-feeling between those three powers.

Russo-Japanese War.

This change had certainly been made easier by a war between Russia and Japan (1904-5). Russia had probably expected to overwhelm her small antagonist. But the war, both by land and sea, was away in the Far East, in Manchuria; Japan had her ships, her troops, and the supplies for her forces, practically on the spot. Russia had to send the troops and supplies

many hundreds of miles across the barren land of Siberia with only a single line of railway to carry them. If she sent ships, they would have to go from the Baltic all round Europe and Asia; the squadron already in the east was ice-bound in port. Instead of overwhelming Japan, Russia was beaten. The victory was a wonderful achievement for the new far-eastern power, and carried her definitely into the front rank; but it proved no less definitely that Russia, which had seemed so enormously powerful, would have a very poor chance of success if she attacked any vigorous power on land, and also that her fleet was of a very poor quality. After the Japanese war, Britain could feel that she had nothing to fear from Russian aggression either in Central Asia or in the Near East; and therefore it became easy for the two powers to agree that it was much better to trust each other and be friends than for each to suspect that everything the other did was intended to snatch some advantage against her rival.

THE Anglo-French Entente, the Russo-Japanese war, and the reconciliation of Russia and Britain, were the prominent events of the years between 1902 and 1908. The first was put to the test by Germany in 1905. France, with British assent, was developing a dominant influence in Morocco, the North African state whose shores face Spain. The Kaiser intervened, and by doing so learnt what he wanted to know—that Britain, whether Unionists or Liberals were in power, intended to stand by France if an unwarrantable attack were made on her. What he actually procured by his intervention was the reference of the Moroccan question to a conference of the powers at Algeciras, which practically sanctioned the French claims. This was actually the first move in the game of trying to break the new link between Britain and France.

3. Algeciras, 1905-6.

The Japanese war was from the German point of view a satisfactory sign that a long time must pass before the Russian military power could be dangerous. When it was followed by the Russo-British reconciliation, the position required to be tested again. The opportunity was given by Turkey. A 'Young Turk' party had been formed in that country, dissatisfied with the successive territorial concessions made by the Sultan since 1878, bent on recovering Moslem ascendency, but professing that its object was to procure long-promised 'Constitutional' reforms. In 1908 the party organised a revolution. At the same moment Bulgaria proclaimed her complete independence, and Austria proclaimed her annexation

The 'Young Turks.'

of Bosnia, which she had hitherto occupied in much the same way as the British occupied Egypt. The annexation tore up international treaties, and was a heavy blow to Russian and Slavonic influence in the Balkans. But when the Kaiser took his stand beside Austria 'in shining armour' as he expressed it, Russia could not venture upon any action. She assented to the annexation. The 'Young Turks' ejected Abdul Hamed, and made his feeble brother Sultan in his place—but it was they who controlled the government, and they were as 'pro-German' as Abdul himself. The Austro-German ascendency in the Balkan peninsula was decisively established.

Bosnia, 1908.

One more feature of German policy must be remarked upon. Until the close of the nineteenth century, Germany, having a very small sea-board and an immense land-frontier, had never been a sea-power. But in 1900 the Kaiser announced that 'Germany's future is on the sea,' and started a huge ship-building programme. Not long afterwards the British began to build a new type of battle-ship—the '*Dreadnought*.' It seemed that in future naval wars, only 'Dreadnoughts' would count; in the race of Dreadnought-building all the powers started from the same point; and though as yet the British could build faster than any one else, Germany saw and seized a new chance of creating a fleet which in time might dare to try conclusions with the Mistress of the Seas.

The German navy.

DURING these years there was another change taking place which seemed extremely hopeful. Ever since the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1, all the nations had been piling up bigger and bigger armies. On the Continent, almost every young man had to go through a long period of military training, when he ought to have been learning how to become an efficient workman (which means, to be able to do his job, whatever it may be, thoroughly well, with a small instead of a big expenditure of time and effort); and every country had to spend a huge amount of money, collected by taxation, upon more and more armaments; money which would otherwise have been spent in producing more of the goods which the world wanted, of a better quality and at a lower cost. Year by year through the last quarter of the nineteenth century the burden of armaments grew and grew, because each country wanted to keep enough ahead of its neighbour to be sure that, if it should be attacked or should wish to attack, the chances were that it would be victorious. Every one was afraid of every one else; Britain the least, because on

4. Growing armaments.

the sea she was so much stronger than any one else that no one would care to attack her, while on land she would not attempt to do more than protect herself against such small armies of invasion as could pass her fleets. Britain spent a great deal on a small highly-trained army and a big highly-trained fleet. Other countries with big land-frontiers had to spend so much on big armies that they could not at the same time build fleets which could challenge hers. Of all the European powers she felt the strain least, but even for her it was severe.

The root of all the trouble was that while no one wanted to go to war without having something like a certainty of victory—like Bismarck when Prussia fought first Austria and then France—the final appeal was still to war, if two or more powers could not come to an agreement between themselves. Britain had led the way, with the Washington Treaty, in agreeing to submit her own difference with the United States to arbitrators whose award both sides bound themselves to accept. Since then several of her disputes had been referred to arbitration, and she had formed a general arbitration treaty with the United States. The plan of arbitration seemed to offer a much more rational way of settling quarrels between nations than fighting it out, just as a trial in a law court is a more rational way of settling private disputes than the old 'ordeal by battle.' But still, even Britain held that cases might arise in which she could not admit that any one but herself could judge what was her right or her duty.

Arbitration.

These two ideas then were working in many men's minds: that the world would be much more prosperous if it did not devote so much of its time, its energy, and its wealth to producing engines of destruction and preparing for war; and that most wars could be avoided if the nations would consent to submit their quarrels to an impartial arbitrator. And a third idea was gaining ground, that war—when it could not be avoided—might yet be made less hideous and cruel if the nations would agree to forbid in their own armies practices which inflict unnecessary suffering—from which, that is, they gain no military advantage.

The horror of war.

Some time earlier, a step in this direction had been taken when the powers had agreed at a conference held at Geneva that the sick and wounded on both sides should be tended and cared for, enemies as well as friends, and that hospitals on both sides should be protected by both from attack. Then, quite at the

Conferences.

end of the century the Russian Tsar—the ill-fated Nicholas II.—invited the states of the world to assemble in conference at the Hague, to devise means whereby armaments might be reduced, an International Court of Arbitration might be established, and the wanton cruelties common in warfare might be diminished.

This first Hague Conference was held in 1899. No agreements about disarmament could be reached; but an international arbitration court was set up, to which any quarrelling powers might agree to submit their disputes; and some conventions were signed by several powers agreeing as to the protection of non-combatants, and as to not using weapons which caused unnecessary suffering. These conventions were loyally observed by both sides in the South African war and in the Russo-Japanese war. Then in 1906 there was a second Hague Conference in which more than forty states took part, and several more conventions were signed; but it was still found impossible to agree on any reduction of armaments, arbitration remained voluntary, and no machinery was created by which the powers which had signed the conventions could be compelled to keep their promises if they found it convenient to break them. Still, men hoped and believed that the arbitration tribunal and the conventions would provide a way of escape from war which all nations would hesitate to reject; and that if wars still came their horrors would be greatly mitigated.

The Hague Conventions.

II. British Parties: 1902-1908.

Tariff Reform—The Return of the Liberals—
The Campbell-Bannerman Ministry.

When Mr. Balfour succeeded Lord Salisbury as head of the Unionist administration in 1902, Mr. Chamberlain remained at the Colonial Office, and the leadership of the House of Lords passed to the Duke of Devonshire. A new and extremely popular king was on the throne. The Government had behind it an irresistible majority in the House of Commons, returned at the 'Khaki' election of 1900, when the sole question before the electorate was that of carrying the war to a successful conclusion. Since a large section of the Liberal party, including its chief Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, was suspected of sympathising with the Boer cause, the Unionist majority had stood unshaken, though the lack of

1. Government and Opposition, 1902.

foresight and organisation shown by the Government had been sharply criticised by Unionists as well as by all sections of the Opposition.

But the war was now ended, and the most serious cause of division in the ranks of the Opposition was removed. If any big question of some principle upon which they were all agreed should be brought forward by the Government, the Opposition throughout the country might be once more united.

In the first months of Mr. Balfour's premiership, something was done towards uniting the Opposition by the carrying through of the Education Bill introduced before Salisbury's resignation. Mr. Chamberlain went on a tour in South Africa: an Irish Land Bill was passed, the only one on record which was blessed alike by Irish Nationalists and Irish landlords. In the spring of 1903 Mr. Chamberlain returned to give the Opposition exactly what they most wanted.

Joseph Chamberlain.

He had been a great Imperialist before; he came back, ten times more Imperialist. To unite the Empire by stronger bonds in closer fellowship so that it should stand four-square to all the world, unassailably mighty, indissolubly one—this, for him, had become the aim in comparison with which all others were trivial. That was an idea which three-fourths of the country and of the Empire were now ready to adopt with enthusiasm. But he had also formed the conviction that the way to make the bonds stronger was to make the Empire wholly self-supporting and independent of the rest of the world by some form of 'Customs Union' which would give preference to trade within the Empire over trade with the rest of the world, by means of Free Trade between its members and Tariffs which would shut out the rest of the world from competing.

Now for fifty years the United Kingdom had been a Free Trading state which had admitted the whole world to free and equal competition, and during that half century hardly a voice had been raised to challenge the accepted belief that the huge increase of British commerce and the vast improvements in the material prosperity of every class in the country except the very poorest was due to Free Trade. Most living men had been brought up to believe it as a matter of course. Mr. Chamberlain set them reconsidering the arguments which had established Free Trade and abolished Protection in the middle of the last century. The majority inclined to hold that the argument was sound; but there came another question for Free Traders—would it not be worth while

Free Trade challenged, 1903.

to lose some of that commercial prosperity for the sake of Imperial unity? A majority was inclined to answer—Yes, it is worth while. But then came the third question; shall we, by diminishing our economic prosperity, gain our end and strengthen Imperial unity?

2. The rout of Tariff Reform, 1906.

At the end of 1905 the country had made up its mind about the answer to the first and third questions; tariffs against outside competition were economically injurious and might be disastrous; instead of producing Imperial unity, they would cause irritation and friction between the different parts of the Empire. That was the view very definitely and positively declared by an overwhelming majority at the General Election in January 1906. The Unionists as a party stood for Tariff Reform. The Liberal and Labour candidates stood for Free Trade. A great number of Unionist Free-Traders voted for the Liberal candidates and Free Trade: and the Liberals were returned to office with a big majority over all other parties combined.

Colonial preference.

The scheme, as it was first put forward by Mr. Chamberlain in May 1903, did in fact appeal very strongly at first sight to the Imperial sentiment. Goods produced within the Empire should everywhere be admitted free. Goods produced outside the Empire at a lower price than within it were to pay a tariff which would raise their price so that they would not undersell the same class of goods produced in the Colonies. But there was to be no tariff on the necessaries of life such as food-stuffs or the raw materials for manufacture, because to tax these things would raise their price, and increase the cost of living to the workman and the cost of production to the manufacturer.

But then it appeared that nearly all the goods the Colonies wanted to sell in England were either food-stuffs or raw materials so that they would gain nothing if there were no tariff against foreign supplies. If 'Colonial preference' was to serve the intended purpose, such goods would have to be taxed. So it became necessary to prove that the prices would not really be increased, or that, if they were, British manufacturers and workmen would reap the profits. Free-traders found the arguments unconvincing. They held that while some manufacturers would make big profits as in the old Protectionist days, the workmen and 'consumers' in general would suffer so heavily from high prices that the whole system would become intolerable; they would feel that the 'unified' Empire was more of a burden than a

blessing after all. Free-traders were particularly scornful about a cry raised by some of the manufacturers that their trade would be ruined and vast numbers of workmen would be thrown out of employment unless the cheaper goods manufactured in Germany were shut out of the market by tariffs; because they believed that the manufacturers were quite able to compete successfully with the Germans if they chose.

While the tariff reform controversy was raging, other events of consequence were taking place. It was at this time that the Franco-British Entente was established; but the country was very much inclined to give the credit for it to the personal popularity of King Edward in France more than to the skill of the Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne. In India, some measures taken by the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, excited a violent hostile agitation among the Hindu population of Bengal, which led to farther troubles later; and his disagreements with his commander-in-chief, Lord Kitchener, on questions of army administration brought about his resignation and the appointment of a new Viceroy, Lord Minto. And finally the employment of Chinese 'coolies' in the mines in South Africa was hotly condemned as a barely veiled form of slavery by various sections of the British public.

Events elsewhere.

At the end of 1905 Mr. Balfour resigned, and the Liberal leader was able to form a ministry which included the ablest men from all sections of the party. Parliament was then immediately dissolved. The election was fought on the Tariff Reform issue, coupled with denunciations of the late Government on the Chinese Labour question; the definite pledge that Home Rule was not to be brought forward in the new parliament enabled Unionist Free Traders to cast their votes for the Liberals, who were returned with a heavy majority; while the 83 Irish Nationalists, now united under Mr. John Redmond, and the 51 Labour members, now numerous enough to form a distinct parliamentary party, could also be generally counted upon as supporters of the Liberal Government.

A new government, 1906.

The defeat of Tariff Reform in 1905-6 meant for the Unionist party very much what Gladstone's defeat in 1886 had meant for the Liberal party. An issue had been raised which for the time carried a large section of it over to the other side, while the bulk of the party was permanently committed to the new doctrine, pledged to give it effect whenever it should return to power. But there was this difference, that the House of Lords remained overwhelmingly Unionist whether

the party was in office or in opposition. Though the Unionists, all told, numbered less than one-fourth of the House of Commons, the Lords continued firmly convinced that on all questions except that of Tariff Reform they represented public opinion in Great Britain more accurately than the new Government; and they rejected or amended its measures very much as they had done in 1892-5.

3. Government Opposition, 1906-8.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman remained at the head of a united Government for a little more than two years; but early in 1908 ill-health forced him to resign and the leadership passed into the hands of Mr. Asquith, whose premiership lasted till the end of 1916. The most notable achievement of the Bannerman ministry was the grant of full Responsible Government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. We shall return to this subject in another section, noting here only that the Unionists regarded the measure as premature and rash, so that they refused to support it though they did not feel warranted to reject it.

Similarly they did not venture to reject the scheme of army reorganisation brought forward by Mr. Haldane, being themselves conscious that their own attempts in that direction had been far from successful. It was claimed for the scheme that, while it reduced military expenditure it increased the efficiency of the forces. At the same time it provided for the training of a volunteer 'territorial' army for home defence. The critics of the scheme pronounced that reduced expenditure must mean reduced efficiency, that the 'territorial' army would not be sufficiently trained to be of any use in the first six months of any war that might arise, and finally that British armies would not count in any European war until Great Britain adopted the continental system of 'conscription' or compulsory service instead of depending upon voluntary enlistment.

Labour.

Again, the Unionists denounced but could not actively reject, the demand of the small Labour party for legislation to reverse the effect of the Taff Vale judgment in 1900, and to restore what every one had supposed to be the law since the Trade Union Act of 1871. Nor could the Lords deal drastically with the Budget brought in by Mr. Asquith as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1907. This carried a good deal farther the principles of Harcourt's 1894 Budget, considerably increasing the 'Death Duties' on large estates, while it also made a change in the Income Tax, by making the

burden somewhat lighter on incomes which were directly earned, as distinguished from incomes derived from investments.

Other attempts at legislation, on questions hotly disputed for a long time past between the two great parties, were defeated by the House of Lords on the theory that the majority in the House of Commons did not represent the will of the nation. Such were the 'Plural Voting Bill,' to prevent any one from voting in more than one constituency at a General Election; and an Education Bill, directed against denominational teaching. Once more the feeling was rising in the Liberal party that the Lords intended to use their legal powers to prevent any Liberal Government from carrying any Liberal measures which the party had not placed unmistakeably in the forefront of its programme at the General Election that had carried it to office—however large the party majority might be in the Commons. But the battle was not joined till Mr. Asquith had become Prime Minister with Mr. Lloyd George as his Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Defeated Bills.

III. Constitutional Crises: 1908-1914.

The Battle joined—The Two Elections of 1910—Aggressive Liberalism—Ireland again.

THE fight did not begin at once. A Bill to provide 'Old Age Pensions'—a small weekly sum for old folk past seventy—could only be opposed on points of detail or on the general ground that there was no money to spare for the purpose; since for many years Mr. Chamberlain had proclaimed that the provision of Old Age Pensions was his great desire. But a second Liberal Education Bill met the same fate as the first. Then in 1909 a bill for reducing the number of public-houses was fiercely opposed as robbery of a perfectly legitimate trade, by every one concerned with the liquor traffic; the Government's naval programme was denounced by the Opposition as scandalously inadequate in view of the rapidly-growing German Navy, and as altogether excessive and needlessly provocative by a section of the Liberal party. And finally, Mr. Lloyd George produced a Budget against which the Unionists were prepared to fight to the last gasp.

1. Skirmishing, 1908-9.

The time had come, it was claimed by the Government, for a large public expenditure on 'social' improvements for the benefit mainly of the manual wage-earners. The Revenue must be increased, which

would certainly not be the result of the Unionists scheme of Tariff Reform. The Revenue then must be raised by taxation of the wealthy classes whose wealth was largely inherited, not earned, and who could very well afford to contribute a much larger proportion of it for national purposes. The workman should pay more for his unnecessary, but pleasant, luxuries—tobacco and spirits—but the rich man must be more heavily taxed directly as well as indirectly. Big incomes were to pay an extra tax, and land of which the value had been increased by no effort of the owners was to pay one-fifth of this 'unearned increment' or increase to the State.

The battle of the Budget, 1909.

In the eyes of the wealthy classes, the landed classes, and the liquor trade, the Government was embarking on a course of sheer robbery in order to win popularity with the working-class voters. The Lords might not amend the Budget, and they took a step which had never been taken before. They rejected the Budget, root and branch. Without money the Government could not carry on; it must either frame a new Budget acceptable to the Lords, or dissolve. It dissolved.

The election was fought in January 1910. Quite evidently if the Liberals returned to power they must do two things—pass the Budget, and deprive the Lords of their legal power of again rejecting a Budget. Otherwise, having done so once, the Lords would always be able to force a dissolution by rejecting the Budget.

2. The battle of the Peers, 1910.

In fact the election gave the Liberal party a bare majority over the Unionist party. On the question at issue they could in addition count on the support both of the Irish Nationalist and of the Labour group. But they could only compel the Lords to surrender their powers as they had been forced to give way in 1832, by obtaining from the King a promise to create a number of peers—some hundreds—sufficient to swamp the Opposition. At this very critical moment King Edward, 'the Peace-maker,' died suddenly. It would not be fair to make such a demand on the new king, George v., unless the country very definitely called for it. The Budget was passed—on that point the Peers recognised that the country had pronounced judgment—and a second General Election was held in December. The parties were returned, practically with the same numbers as in January. Counting Nationalists and Labour there was a majority of 120 avowedly in favour of some drastic reform of the House of Lords and also of Irish Home Rule. At both elections

the increase of the Unionists was mainly due to the return to their ranks of Free Traders who, much as they disliked Tariff Reform, disliked 'Lloyd George Finance,' Home Rule, and the attack on the House of Lords still more. But on all three questions, the Unionists had against them a majority of 120, or of 60 in Great Britain without Ireland. During the election, Unionists had proclaimed that Home Rule was at issue, while the Liberals had said as little as possible about it. After the election the Liberals declared and the Unionists denied that it really had been an issue.

Apart from what may be called the recognised Liberal programme, it seemed likely that another question which had not been a party issue at all would be pushed to the front—the question whether at last women as well as men should be admitted to the parliamentary franchise. During the half century since the women's claim had first been seriously put forward by a great Liberal thinker, John Stuart Mill, it had been listened to generally with amused derision, till it became gradually a subject of sober argument. In the twentieth century it had already been admitted in some of the Dominions, no longer to be called Colonies; and in Great Britain there were prominent men in all parties who favoured it and others who opposed it; but no party was yet disposed to adopt it as part of its official programme: and recently the extravagances of some of the women-suffragists had on the one hand forced the question upon public attention, while on the other they had somewhat strengthened the arguments of the opponents of the movement.

Votes for Women?

In 1911 House of Lords Reform and Lloyd George Finance gave Parliament more than enough to do. The 'Parliament Bill' reduced the life of the House of Commons—the period at the end of which it *must* be dissolved—to five years instead of the seven allowed by the old Septennial Act of George I. Otherwise it was concerned entirely with the powers of the House of Lords, the constitution of which was to be revised later. They were to have no power either to amend or to reject a Finance Bill. Any other Bill passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions was to become law whether the Peers rejected it or not. It was made known that if the Peers rejected this Bill, the King had consented to create a number of new Peers sufficient to carry it. The Lords gave way and passed the Parliament Act, but declared that it would be 'unconstitutional' and a 'breach of faith' if it were acted upon.

3. Parliament Bill, 1911.

before the constitution of their House was reconstructed—a view which the Government refused to accept.

The new Finance scheme was one for 'National Insurance.' There was to be a fund out of which all wage-earners prevented from working by illness or accidental injuries were to receive payments at fixed rates. Part of the fund was to be provided by the State, part by a weekly payment to be made both by employers and by employees. The medical services of doctors who chose to place themselves on the 'panel' or list could be claimed by the persons insured, the doctors being paid not according to their actual services but according to the number of patients entitled to claim those services. Both employers and workers complained of being required to contribute, the doctors declared that they were shockingly underpaid, and it was urged that the country could not afford the enormous cost. The critics seemed to be in some doubt whether the measure was one which by its extreme unpopularity would help them to overturn the Government or one which might be expected to 'catch votes' and multiply the supporters of the Government in the constituencies. The Act however was passed.

National Insurance, 1911.

In 1912 and 1913 came two measures which had long been demanded by most Liberals—one for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, very much as it had been disestablished in Ireland in 1869; the other for the abolition of 'plural voting.' Both were passed in the Commons, and would become law, in despite of the Peers, if passed again in two successive sessions. The argument for the first was that the Welsh were a separate people from the English, that most of them were not Churchmen but Nonconformists, and that it was unjust to reserve for the minority privileges and endowments which had been conferred when the whole people were members of one Church. The Opposition argument was that the Church was the same Body now as in the Middle Ages; the Nonconformists were people who had severed themselves from it and lost the right to share in its endowments and privileges. To deprive it of them was to steal for other purposes what had been dedicated to the service of God. For the 'plural voting' Bill it was urged that democratic principles required that each man's vote should carry equal weight, whereas if one man could vote in two or more constituencies his vote would carry double weight or more. Against it, it was argued that the measure was a mere party move to reduce the Unionist vote, since most 'plural voters' were Unionists.

Revived Bills, 1912-13.

THE great conflict, however, arose over the third Home Rule Bill, introduced in 1912—nineteen years after the second. The Unionists claimed that Liberal leaders had repeatedly pledged themselves not to produce a Home Rule Bill unless they were strong enough to pass it without regard to the Irish Nationalist vote; or without having appealed to the country on that single issue. At the last General Election they certainly had not appealed on that single issue, and they could not now carry a Home Rule Bill except in a form approved by the Nationalists. The Liberals on the other hand declared that they had never given such pledges, and that the last General Election had been a definite pronouncement by the electorate in Great Britain in favour of Home Rule; they claimed therefore that they had full warrant for bringing in their Bill. There were two main ideas underlying the Bill. First, the Irish were a distinct nationality, like the Scots and the Welsh, and they were also a people on the same level of civilisation as the rest of the United Kingdom; therefore they were entitled to autonomy if they demanded it. But secondly the autonomy must be of a kind which could not easily be transformed into separation from the Empire. Many problems of government could be dealt with more satisfactorily if each of the four nationalities in the British Isles—English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh—was self-governing like the Provinces of Canada, the States of Australia, and those of South Africa which in 1910 had been federated in the South African Union. The Irish demand was pressing, the rest were not; but the autonomy granted to Ireland should be such that later she could be readily combined in a federated group with the rest of the British Isles.

4. Third Home Rule Bill, 1912.

The scheme was approved by the Irish Nationalists; but what secured their approval was the inclusion of Ulster with the rest of Ireland as a unity. But Ulster was absolutely determined that she would never submit to be governed by a Dublin parliament. From her point of view, Protestant Ulster was to be placed under the heel of the Catholic 'rest of Ireland,' Loyalist Ulster was to be overridden by people who were—covertly if not openly—enemies of the British connection. If Ireland had a right to a government separate from that of the United Kingdom, Ulster had a right to a government separate from that of the rest of Ireland. Rather than submit to the new scheme, Ulster would fight. Ulster would not give way; the Nationalists would not give way. The British Unionists declared that Ulster was justified. British Liberals answered that

Ulster.

Ulster was simply asserting the right of armed rebellion against the law, a right which Unionists were the first to denounce when it meant rebellion against Unionist rule. In 1914 Irish Nationalists reluctantly agreed to a concession that Ulster should remain apart for a term of years; Ulster remained obdurate. Nothing but armed force would make her yield; even Liberals doubted whether she either could or should be coerced into submission: officers of the British army were declaring that if they were ordered to march against the Ulster Volunteers, they would refuse. But on the other hand, could any Government yield to the threat of the armed insurrection of a minority defying the will of a national majority? Was it possible that the United Kingdom was on the verge of civil war?

The Crisis, 1914.

And then, when the Irish crisis was at its most acute stage, it was dwarfed and obliterated by the most tremendous crisis in the world's history.

IV. Greater Britain: 1902-1914.

The Dominions—India.

THE creation of the Commonwealth of Australia in January 1901 was the second instance of group-federation among the states of the great British Commonwealth which were still satisfied to be called Colonies of the British Empire. It came at the moment when the loyalty of the whole Empire was stirred by the struggle in South Africa. The death of the old Queen in the sixty-fourth year of her reign struck a common chord of sympathy throughout her world-wide realm. The colonial tour of the Duke of York, now King George v., in the same year intensified the sentiment of unity; the valour of the colonial contingents in South Africa was a common source of pride in the Flag. There was to be no more talk of the 'Colonies cutting the Painter.' Mr. Chamberlain's visit to South Africa in 1902 gave a fresh impetus to the Imperial idea; and his campaign for 'Colonial Preference' during the next three years emphasised at least the fact that the unity of the Empire had at last become a common faith wherever the Flag was planted.

1. The sense of unity.

The next marked step was the grant of self-government to the former Boer Republic in 1906. It was viewed with extreme anxiety by all who feared that resentment against the British was still the strongest sentiment in the minds of the Boers. The event proved on the contrary that the confidence of the British

The Boer states, 1906.

Government was not misplaced—the grant was received in a spirit of frank goodwill. The Dutchman, a full and free citizen of the Empire, on an absolute equality with his British fellow-citizens, became completely loyal; and if there were some stalwarts who would neither forgive nor forget, the great majority—and among them nearly all the most able of those who had been most stubborn in their defiance—were to prove their fidelity in the hour of greatest need.

Before that hour came, those two states joined with Cape Colony and Natal to form in 1909 the Union of South Africa, which in 1910 became the third of the federated groups. Rhodesia stood outside the Union, as Newfoundland stood outside Canada; New Zealand, which remained apart from Australia, had been recognised as a 'Dominion' in 1907; so that there were four groups, each of which could claim to be an autonomous state with a consciousness both of its own separate nationality and of its share in a world-wide British nationality and in the great traditions of the British people. There was still a 'Colonial Empire' embracing the minor Colonies which had not full autonomy; there was still an Asiatic Empire in which the British held sway over Orientals; but the term Empire, which always suggests the idea of a military supremacy, was no longer a suitable description of the relations between the Mother Country and the Dominions to which she had given birth. The British Commonwealth had come into being.

The Union of South Africa, 1910.

Moreover, New Zealand had led the way in showing her consciousness that the new position was bringing with it new responsibilities. All the Dominions had set about organising their own 'home' defences; New Zealand was the first to offer her voluntary contribution of one Dreadnought 'or, if need be, two' to the Royal Navy, and Australia followed with a similar offer in 1910; while Canada, not lagging in loyalty, considered that she would better support Imperial defence by developing the navy under her own control.

The Commonwealth at last.

In India Lord Minto, appointed by the Unionist Government, had hardly succeeded Lord Curzon in 1905 when the Liberals returned to power at Westminster. The Viceroy, however, worked in unexpected harmony with his new chief, Mr. John Morley. The agitation caused by Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal into two provinces was at its height. There seem to have been two main causes at work; one a genuine grievance, that the lines of parti-

2. India.

tion took no count of the differences or the similarities of race and language among the diverse peoples in the great province; the other factious, a section of the Hindus believing that the change would diminish their own political influence and increase that of the Mohammedans. Resentment at the partition was made the warrant for violent and seditious attacks on the British rule, in the Hindu press. Mr. Morley and Lord Minto agreed in flatly refusing to reverse the partition, and in taking measures against the leaders of seditious agitation which were denounced as outrageously tyrannical on one side and on the other as culpably lenient.

Nevertheless, the situation which seemed very critical in 1908 appeared to have calmed down in 1910; and in 1911, for the first time, a King-Emperor, George v., visited his Indian Empire in state. The visit, like the proclamation of the Queen-Empress in the last century, was made the occasion of a very magnificent and impressive Durbar, and was farther signalised by the announcement that Delhi was to be restored to its historic position as the capital of the Empire of India.

The Imperial visit, 1911.

The improvement in the situation was probably to a great extent due to changes in the system of Indian government by the Morley-Minto administration in 1909—changes which enlarged the Councils of the several provinces, gave to natives a greatly increased share in them, and introduced a considerable elected element. Their powers, however, were still very limited, and the control of administration remained almost exclusively in British hands.

Administration reform, 1909.

V. Europe; the War-cloud: 1909-1914.

German Experiments, 1909-12—The Balkans, 1912-13—The Great Crisis, 1914—New Military Conditions—New Naval Conditions—A Miscalculation.

When Austria annexed Bosnia in 1908 and the German Kaiser promised her his armed support, the Central Empires were satisfied that it would be a long time before Russia, conscious of her own weakness, would venture to resist them in arms, at least unless she were sure of the armed support of France and Britain. Germany was already building up the fleet which she hoped would before long prove a match for the British navy; but the next step in her programme was the separation of France and

1. The Agadir experiment, 1911.

Britain. She tried the experiment in 1911. It appeared that France and Spain were about to partition Morocco between them. Germany sent a warship to Agadir Bay—which was practically a threat of declaring war on France. But the British Government took its stand firmly by the side of France. The Kaiser learnt that Britain, though she was not directly pledged to fight for France, yet considered herself bound in honour to give France active support if she should be attacked without sufficient reason; while Russia was actually bound by treaty to come in on the French side. He had sufficient reasons for not challenging the three Powers at that moment; France was ready to make concessions elsewhere for the sake of peace, and the crisis passed over.

Germany was seriously disappointed. Her next move was an endeavour to persuade Britain to promise neutrality in case of a Franco-German war. The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward (now Viscount) Grey, made it clear that Britain was quite ready to come to a friendly settlement of all outstanding disputes with Germany, as she had with France in 1904 and with Russia in 1907; but she would not pledge herself to stand aside if any of her very good friends were wantonly attacked. Still, the Kaiser made the mistake which Russia had made before in 1853 and 1877. He thought that all British governments were so peaceable, or so feeble, or so much hampered by the fear of revolts within the Empire, that Britain would at least hesitate to join in a war until it was too late for her to save her friends. He would be able to finish them off first, and then it would be her turn.

A diplomatic failure, 1912.

THEN in 1912 there was a reverse for the German policy in the Balkans, which had been so successful in 1908. A league was formed between Greece and the two states on the south bank of the Danube, Serbia and Bulgaria. Greece was separated from the two northern states by a broad belt of Turkish provinces, from the Adriatic sea on the west to the Black and Aegean seas on the east—Albania, Macedonia, and Thrace. The three states wanted Macedonia and parts of Thrace and Albania for themselves; they were to be liberated from the Turkish yoke, and the parts were to be joined to whichever state was of their own nationality—Greek, Slav, or Bulgar; though the nationality of the various parts was a question not easy to agree upon. But roughly speaking, Greece wanted the south part, Bulgaria wanted to extend her territories to the Aegean,

2. The Balkan League, 1912.

and Serbia hers to the Adriatic, while each considered that she had the best right to the remaining middle region; whereas Austria, having taken possession of Bosnia, was in hopes of reaching the Aegean through Macedonia on her own account.

The League then gave out that the misgovernment of Macedonia warranted a demand not for its partition but for its autonomy. In spite of lectures from the Powers, war was declared between Turkey and the League in October 1912. Turkey was reorganising her army under German guidance; the old system had been abolished, the new was not yet in working order. In six months her forces had been beaten everywhere, the Bulgarians were at Adrianople, the Greeks at Salonica, the Serbs on the Adriatic. Then the Powers intervened—Austria otherwise would have done so on her own account—and a new 'settlement' of the Balkans was made in May (1913) at the London Conference.

The first Balkan war, 1912-13.

Bulgaria, which had done the lion's share of the work, had the smallest share of the spoils allotted to her. Greeks or Serbs got what she claimed as being justly hers; in June she turned suddenly on Serbia, and there was a second Balkan war—in which she had very much the worst of it, and lost to the Serbs and Greeks more than she had gained by the settlement; while Serbia and Greece each thought that the other had profited unduly at her expense. In the end, the three states were as jealous of each other as ever; the League had failed.

Second Balkan war, 1913.

But the war had given Serbia a new self-confidence, while Austria saw herself shut out from all hope of reaching Salonica, the immediate barrier in her way being Serbia; and Bulgaria, the only one of the three which was naturally more amicably disposed to Austria than to Russia, had been badly beaten by the other two. Serbia, on the other hand, was the natural enemy of Austria; she stood for the common nationalist ideal of all the South Slavs, shared by the South Slav population in Austria-Hungary. Sooner or later one of two things was almost bound to happen; either Serbia must become another vassal of Austria, or the subject South Slavs would break away from the Austrian Empire and become united in a Greater Serbia.

Austria, then, resolved that Serbia must be reduced to vassalage as soon as possible. The crushing of Serbia would have one of two results; either Russia would try to save her at all costs and there would be a great European war, or Russia would leave Serbia to her doom, and the irresistible domination of the Central Powers in

Europe and Western Asia would be established without fighting. In either case, since William II. was confident of winning a swift and overwhelming victory in any war, a victory which he had been preparing for five-and-twenty years, the Kaiser's grand ambition would be achieved and the world would lie at his mercy. Only, to ensure complete success, the challenge must be thrown down at the precise moment when the Central Empires could strike their hardest and the other Powers could not. That moment had not arrived in 1913. The desired opportunity came at midsummer 1914.

The German reckoning, 1913.

The Russian army was certainly not in such a state of readiness as the Austro-German or 'Teutonic' armies. Russia would probably repeat the surrender of 1908. If she dared to fight, France was bound by treaties to stand beside her. But the chances—as reckoned in Berlin—were that Britain would stand aloof, contenting herself with protests; because in the midsummer of 1914 she appeared to be threatened with civil war and a mutiny of army officers. With Britain aloof, the German armies would be in Paris a month after the declaration of war, and France would be wiped out of the conflict. The German armies would turn on Russia, which so far would have been held up by the Austrians. Russia would crumble up, and Britain would find herself entirely alone. On the other hand, there was the chance that Britain would join in; but even if she did, she had no army worth considering, her fleet would be paralysed even if it were not actually defeated by the German fleet, and the odds were that India, Ireland, Egypt, and South Africa would all seize their opportunity and rise in revolt. It would be more convenient if she stood aside altogether; but at the worst her intervention would not greatly matter.

3. The German reckoning, 1914.

The one thing wanted at this fortunate moment was an excuse for Austria to crush Serbia. And the excuse came so very conveniently that it was easy to believe, though it could hardly be proved, that it was deliberately provided by Austria herself. On 27th June the Austrian Archduke Franz-Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian crown, was assassinated in the streets of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, the Slavonic province which, against its own will, had been annexed by Austria in 1908. Austria declared that the murder was the work of a Serbian conspiracy sheltered by the Serbian Government, and claimed herself to sit in judgment and execute

Sarajevo, June 27.

judgment on Serbia in general and the conspirators in particular. Serbia appealed to the Hague Tribunal. Austria refused the appeal—she and she alone had a right to deal with the question. Russia protested and began to mobilise her army in case of accidents. Germany, while professing to seek peace, pronounced that Austria was in the right. If Germany intervened on Austria's side France must intervene on Russia's. It lay entirely in Germany's hands whether there should or should not be a world war, since Austria, unsupported by Germany, would yield to the demand for international arbitration on the Serbian question. Sir Edward Grey in England was straining every nerve to procure a peaceful solution. Germany till the end of July professed the same earnest desire.

Germany the arbiter, July.

But the only peaceful solution that Germany would accept was the surrender of Russia and the subjection of Serbia to Austria. Austria took her orders from Berlin, and Berlin's secret instructions forbade her to give way. There remained for Germany only the comparatively unimportant question, whether Britain would be stupid enough to involve herself in the war, as that would give Germany some additional trouble. Britain was certainly under no pledge to fight for France or Russia, but she was pledged to defend the neutrality of Belgium, and the German plan of military operations involved the violation of Belgian neutrality. To the pained surprise of the German war-minister, the British ambassador explained that Britain regarded the pledge as binding. France had given the pledge; so had Prussia (1839). Both had confirmed it and observed it loyally in 1870. But Germany did not now mean to allow her designs to be thwarted by a 'scrap of paper.' France could only be invaded on the frontier which lay between Switzerland and Belgium, and was strongly defended—unless the invader marched through Belgium, and entered France on her north-east frontier which was very ill defended. The Germans meant to fling themselves on France through the neutral state, whose neutrality had been guaranteed by France, Britain, and Prussia. To do so was as much as to say that Germany would have no hesitation in breaking any treaty or promise if it happened to suit her convenience. In this case she reckoned that Belgium would not dare to resist, and, resisting, to save her soul alive.

The crisis.

On 28th July Austria had declared war on Serbia; on 31st July Germany declared war on Russia; on 3rd August she declared war on France, and her troops entered Belgium. That night an 'ultimatum'

from London demanded her immediate withdrawal from Belgium, and next day—4th August 1914—the British Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, gave out in the House of Commons that Britain had declared war on Germany. The Opposition leaders pledged their whole-hearted support of the Government, and Mr. John Redmond, the leader of the Irish Nationalists, announced that Ireland would stand with Great Britain for Freedom, Honour, and Right. All differences must be sunk in the face of the German menace. In fact the whole country was with the Government heart and soul; and it very soon became apparent that the whole Commonwealth was solid with the country.

The die is cast, 3rd Aug.

THE Great War which began in the first days of August 1914, and ended with the Armistice of 11th November 1918, was to test not only the spirit of the nations which were involved in it, but also the efficiency of a number of new weapons which had never yet been put to the proof: weapons which made an enormous change in the conduct of warfare. To every one who lived through it, war is an affair of gigantic and endless bombardments, of railway systems, of air-planes and air-ships, of motors, of tanks, of underground trenches with a vast network of galleries, of wire entanglements, of bombs that shatter a row of houses, of poison gas, of vast battleships cannonading at a distance of many miles, of wireless telegraphy, of torpedoes, of submarines, of depth-charges. Yet some of these things were only invented while the war was in progress; half of them had never before been tried in war; some had only been experimented with during the wars of the last sixteen years. Of the rest it might be said that they were after all not new inventions, but only old weapons and instruments of war on a bigger scale. But the scale was so much bigger as to make an entire change in the character of the fighting in which they were employed.

4. New Military Conditions.

Tanks had not even been dreamed of. They grew out of the armour-clad motor; and that had never been used. Even the road motor now as familiar as the railway, had only begun to come into use in the twentieth century. Poison gas had been thought of, but not used; and the conscience of humanity had, in the Hague Conventions, forbidden its use. The only air-craft known in previous wars was the balloon, which could only float down wind like a log on a stream; though about 1900 the German Count Zeppelin had invented the air-ship which bears his name, a 'dirigible balloon'

New war instruments.

which could be steered and driven against the wind like a ship. The air-plane, not a balloon at all, was a very recent invention, destined to have a tremendous effect; but no one knew yet what it would be capable of doing beyond flying at a tremendous height, at immense speed, and at a very great risk to the very small crew which it could carry. The bursting 'shell,' whose fragments carried destruction, was familiar; so of course was the mine in siege-warfare; but the new 'high-explosive' which wrought destruction as a mine does by the force of its explosion, not by the scattering of its fragments, had been a failure in the South African war and no great success in the Russo-Japanese war. No one yet knew what value was to be placed upon the latest developments in this direction. Wire entanglements had hitherto played their part chiefly as a defence against night attacks. The telegraphy which sent and received messages without a connection by wire was a twentieth-century discovery, used chiefly for communication between ships at sea.

5. New naval conditions.

And by sea there was the same uncertainty. There had been no big naval war in the half century since the first use of 'iron-clad' ships in the American civil war. The biggest had been the wars between Spain and the United States at the end of the nineteenth century—before submarines were invented—and the Russo-Japanese war (when a Russian squadron had fired upon the British North Sea fishing fleet under the belief that it was a Japanese submarine flotilla). In both, one side had been so completely outclassed by the other that no certain conclusions could be drawn from the operations, and naval experts were confidently asserting, or with equal confidence denying, that battleships floating on the surface would have no chance against the invisible craft approaching them beneath the surface. But Britain had pinned her faith on the big battleship defended from submarine attack by a swarm of 'destroyers,' the craft specially designed for that purpose; since the submarine's 'periscope,' its eye, must rise above water before it could see to act.

The submarine.

The submarine itself, the ship which could travel great distances under the sea, had been dreamed of before, but none had been successfully constructed till the end of the nineteenth century. Its weapon of attack was the torpedo, which might be called either a kind of mine or a kind of shell, discharged through the water, at high speed, at the ship which was its target, but from which

it must be within easy shooting distance. As for the battleship, there was no doubt at all that the big ships, the giants of pre-Dreadnought days, had no chance at all against the post-Dreadnought giants, because they came under range of heavier guns than their own long before they could return fire. The great question in debate was—how would the giant fare at the hands of the submarine pigmy, the Zeppelin, and the midgets of the air, the air-planes? For no one as yet had a suspicion that Germany intended to put her submarines to a use hitherto unheard of in naval warfare, the sinking of non-combatant ships. To seize and make prize of non-combatant ships was permissible; but to sink them, like bombarding an open unfortified town, was universally condemned as a crime which no civilised power would dream of committing. And both were expressly pronounced to be crimes by the Hague Conventions which had been signed by the Powers engaged at the opening of the war.

6. Miscalculation.

One error, shared in by all the combatants alike, was the conviction that the war must be over in a few months. The Germans had a reason of their own—they believed that within three months at the outside their opponents would be beaten to their knees and incapable of further resistance. But almost every one believed that war on such a scale would be so exhausting, so enormously costly, such a drain on lives as well as money, that if neither side had won a decisive victory in six months, both would be ready to call quits and come to terms rather than continue the struggle. Scarcely any one imagined that either side would be capable of bearing the terrific strain for as much as three years—though none had realised how terrific it would be. And least of all did the British public realise it. For the biggest war in which Britain had taken an active part during the last hundred years was the South African war, when in the course of two and a half years 5000 men had been killed in battle or died of wounds, though 20,000 had died of sickness—chiefly enteric. They could not picture to themselves a war in which the toll of British lives would not be far short of half a million—more than the whole number of the British 'regular' army when the war began.

SUMMARIES

Parliamentary Measures, 1902-1914.

Trade Union Act, 1906, reverses the effect of the Taff Vale Judgment, and frees Trade Unions from liability for damages.

Army Reform, 1908, creates the Territorial Force for Home Defence in place of the old Militia.

Old Age Pensions, provided by the State for poor persons over seventy.

India Councils Act, 1909, enlarges the Indian Legislative Councils and increases the native element upon them.

Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, 1910, taxes the 'unearned increment' on Land.

Parliament Act, 1911, deprives the House of Lords of all voice in financial measures; abolishes its power of veto; bills passed by the Commons in three successive sessions to become law in spite of rejection by the Lords; life of Parliament reduced from seven years to five.

National Insurance Act, 1911, provides medical attendance and funds for sick-pay for wage-earners, out of the exchequer and compulsory contributions from wages and from employers.

Third Home Rule Bill, 1912, to establish an All-Ireland Parliament in Dublin. Rejected by Lords, and suspended in 1914 by introduction of **Amending Bill** enabling Ulster to stay out for a term of years. The Bill never becomes law.

Welsh Church Disestablishment Act, 1912. The Church in Wales deprived of privileges and partly of endowments.

Chronology: 1902-1914.

1902. Mr. Balfour succeeds Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister.
1903. *May.* Mr. Chamberlain proposes Colonial Preference.
1904. Entente with France.
1904-5. *Russo-Japanese war.*
1905. Partition of Bengal.
1906. *Jan.* Liberal Government under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.
Algeciras Conference.
Grant of Self-Government to Orange State and Transvaal.
1907. Mr. Haldane's Army Reform.
New Zealand a Dominion.

1908. Mr. Asquith Prime Minister to 1916.
Settlement with Russia.
Old Age Pensions.
1909. German naval development.
Budget rejected by the Lords.
India: Minto-Morley reforms.
1910. Union of South Africa.
Jan. General Election. Reduced Liberal majority.
May. Accession of GEORGE V.
Dec. General Election. Parties unchanged.
1911. Parliament Act.
National Insurance Act.
Agadir incident.
1912. German proposals for British neutrality.
Third Home Rule Bill carried in the Commons.
Welsh Disestablishment Bill.
1912-13. First Balkan war.
1913. Second Balkan war.
1914. Ulster crisis in Ireland.
June 27. The Sarajevo murder.
July 28. Austria declares war on Serbia.
Aug. 2. Germany declares war on Russia.
Aug. 3. Germany declares war on France, and invades Belgium.
Aug. 4. Britain declares war on Germany.

Ministries: 1902-1914.

1902 (*Aug.*)-1905 (*Dec.*). Mr. Balfour's Unionist ministry.
1905 (*Dec.*)-1908. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's Liberal ministry. Mr. Asquith Chancellor of Exchequer. Sir E. Grey Foreign Secretary.
1908-14. Mr. Asquith's Liberal ministry. Mr. Lloyd George Chancellor of Exchequer. Sir E. Grey Foreign Secretary.

CHAPTER XV

THE GREAT WAR, AND AFTER: 1914-1922.

I. The War; Opening and Development: 1914-1915.

The War at Sea—The First Blow turned, 1914—The War in 1915.

1. The fleets, 1914.

On the day when war was declared, the British fleet was in absolute readiness and had already taken its station in the North Sea. Only once in the whole course of the war did the German battle fleet venture out of the security of mine-guarded ports to meet it; and though their submarines infested the Channel in spite of the British cordon, they never succeeded in checking the transport of men and munitions between England and France, or in doing anything more than hamper the communications between the British Isles, the Dominions, and America. On the other hand, German sea-commerce was completely cut off from the outset; no ships could reach her ports except neutrals carrying goods which were permitted as not being contraband of war—and not even those, after Britain had declared the German ports to be under blockade. Still for the first few months there were, at large, German squadrons and cruisers which were at distant stations when the war began.

Clearing the surface.

One squadron annihilated a smaller British squadron in the Pacific at the end of the third month (1st November), but was itself trapped and annihilated by a larger squadron which had been sent out to hunt it down, off the Falkland Islands, six weeks later (11th December). The single cruisers which had been causing trouble were hunted down and captured or destroyed. After the end of the year, only submarines were active outside the North Sea. A fast flotilla succeeded in shelling some open towns (16th December) on the east coast, before the approach of British cruisers sent it back to port at high speed. It was already clear that no invading force would have a chance of reaching and disembarking on the British shores.

The position remained the same till the end of the war; if cruiser squadrons came out, they escaped destruction only by escaping to the ports where the waters were sown with mines certain to be exploded by pursuing ships. The British fleet gave absolute security against invasion, cut Germany off from all supplies from oversea which were condemned as contraband, and shut the German fleet into its ports; but did not succeed in enticing it forth into a general action from which it could not make good its escape.

German battle-fleet paralysed.

GERMANY'S intention was merely to keep Russia at arm's-length in the east while France was being wiped out in the west. But by breaking the Belgian treaty she drove both Belgium and Britain to side with France. The result was that though she came within a hair's-breadth of success, she failed. The little that small Belgium could do she did heroically. She did what she was bound to do in forbidding, and also what she might well have been excused for not doing in resisting, the passage of the invading army through her neutral territory. The Germans beat her aside savagely and held her down brutally.

2. Belgium.

The business did not delay them long, but it gave time for the British expeditionary force to arrive in France and link up with the French army. It was the biggest British force that had ever been under the command of a British General, and it was in perfect fighting trim—such a feat of preparedness had never before been accomplished by any British Government. But it was very small in comparison with the French army, and ridiculously so as compared with that of the Germans. The Germans crashed forward and bore it back by sheer weight of numbers, though they could not break it up. They rolled on till they were at the gates of Paris. But the advance had been twice as exhausting as they had expected. That stubborn fighting retreat of the British, always in the face of overwhelming odds, is one of the most splendid episodes in military history. It saved Paris; for before the Germans had recovered breath to strike what should have been the decisive blow the French were able to strike back on the Marne. Paris did not fall, and the Germans on 7th September in their turn began a retreat all along the line—dogged and hammered by the French in the long 'battle of the Aisne,' and by the British northward; till they had fallen back, one vast army on one vast line, with

The rush on Paris, Aug.-Sept.

The retirement, Sept.

its right resting on Ostend on the North Sea; lying, from north to south, to a point east and north of Amiens and Rheims, thence curving away eastward till it passed Verdun, and thence turning south again till it rested on the Swiss border. The whole line lay within either Belgian or French territory. On this line they called a halt at the end of September, and on this line the war of the western front raged for four grisly years.

Fronting them on the extreme left of the Allied line lay the Belgians, soon guarded by land made impassable by the opening of the dykes which let in the sea; then came the British section, very short at first, but gradually extended as the war went on; and then the vast length of the French line. In October the British occupied Ypres, which they held till the end of the war in spite of desperate German efforts—against such odds in this first battle of Ypres that it ranks with the previous retreat from Mons as one of the most brilliant feats on record. Perhaps no troops in the world could have accomplished it except the 'Old [1] Contemptibles,' the British 'regulars' who formed the fully-trained army under the command of Sir John French.

The Western Front, Sept.-Dec.

But to the regulars were now being added the Territorials, short though their special training had been; and in the British Isles some 300,000 men had already answered to the call for volunteers to serve for 'three years or the period of the war'; for Lord Kitchener, who had been placed in control of military affairs as War Secretary, was under no illusion that the war would be short. Those volunteer recruits were being trained at a pace which astonished Lord Kitchener himself. In October too there arrived in England the first contingent of Canadians, for the same purpose; native troops from the armies of India had already landed in France and joined the fighting line, and troops from the Australasian Dominion were on the point of sailing. South Africa was sufficiently occupied with the Germans in German West (and afterwards East) Africa; and, till the end of the year, with suppressing the revolt of the small body of Boers who still refused to regard themselves as members of the British Commonwealth.

Answering the call.

When the German retreat ceased the new system of trench warfare began, the system under which the opposed armies lay facing each

[1] So called because the Kaiser had ventured to refer to them as a 'contemptible little army.'

other separated only by a narrow strip of 'no man's land,' buried in deep trenches under a ceaseless bombardment from distant guns which became more intense when it was intended to be followed by an attack. The system never established itself on the Russian front in the east, where the long line of armies swung now forward and now back over a vast stretch of territory and troops could not be rushed from one point of the line to another, for want of 'lateral' railways. The great service rendered by Russia was that she kept not only the Austrians but a great mass of Germans constantly engaged; and her attack on East Prussia, though it was hurled back at frightful cost to her by the battle of Tannenberg in September, made the German attack in the west less overwhelming than it would otherwise have been.

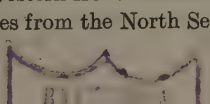
The trenches.

Russia, 1914.

Before the end of 1914 Turkey chose to throw in her lot with the Central Empires. While she was a neutral, no warships might pass through the Dardanelles; after she entered the war, the capture of the Dardanelles would enable the Allies to carry troops and munitions to Russia. This was the reason for the ill-fated attempt of the British, during 1915, to capture the Straits. Had it been successful, it might have forced the decision of the war in the east instead of in the west, and the adventure would have been recorded in history as a stroke of military genius. It was so gallantly conducted that it missed success only by a hair's-breadth, but that was enough. The failure was complete, and history records it as a disastrous though glorious blunder. First the attempt to carry the Dardanelles by naval attack (February) proved—as most naval experts expected—impossible. Then the Gallipoli peninsula was captured, and held (April), though under almost indefensible conditions, chiefly by the Australians and New Zealanders, the 'Anzacs' as they were called from those initials. But the Turkish forts were impregnable to attack from Gallipoli. In August the flank of the forts was turned by a fresh landing at Suvla Bay, and the hills behind which the forts lay were stormed—but the storming-force was not sufficient to hold them, the supports failed to arrive in time, and the attempt had to be abandoned. It could not be renewed with any chance of success; and before the end of the year (December), by a very skilfully arranged operation, what remained of the force on Gallipoli was withdrawn.

3. 1915. The Dardanelles.

Meanwhile on the western front matters were at a deadlock. Along those hundreds of miles from the North Sea to Switzerland, there were



two alternatives, the same for both sides—either to push the enemy's line back and back, yard by yard, and trench by trench; or to find a weak point, hurl massed troops upon it there, burst through, and roll it up to right or left. The British attempted a 'break-through' in March. Its failure was a final proof that without an enormously increased supply of munitions, and especially of high-explosives, in which the Germans had an immense superiority, the thing could not be done. Then the Germans tried it before Ypres in April, and by means of a new horror—poison gas—pierced the line; but the gap was made good and the situation was saved by the valour of the Canadians. Six months later, the British tried again at Loos, but the advance was carried too far by troops too impetuous to wait for their supports; again the blow failed and the opposing lines reverted to the eternal bombardment and the occasional rushing or recovery of a trench.

The Western Front.

On the Russian front, the Germans put forth a tremendous effort and drove the Russian line staggering back across Poland; but they failed to snap it; and by the attempt they had pinned vast numbers of their own forces to the east.

Russia.

In England Mr. Asquith decided that it was time to have a National, not a party government, since there were no party divisions on the conduct of the war; instead of the Liberal cabinet he formed a Coalition with ministers taken from all parties. Soon afterwards a new combatant came in—Italy; she had resolved that the conduct and aims of the Central Empires released her entirely from her old alliance with them. The cause of the Allies was the cause of justice; and by joining them she hoped also that she might recover from Austria the Alpine province called the Trentino and the Adriatic regions which had once belonged to Venice. The Austro-Italian border became a new 'front.' Again after an interval another state came in in September—Bulgaria, still resentful of her treatment by Serbs and Greeks in the Balkan war, and hopeful of profiting at their expense by siding with the Central Powers. Austrians and Bulgars fell upon Serbia, overwhelming her heroic resistance and devastating her with unspeakable cruelty. The great Greek minister, Venizelos, seemed on the point of joining with the Allies and Serbia; the failure of the Dardanelles expedition was by this time admitted, and through him a small allied force was allowed to occupy Salonica—creating another new front, on the Bulgarian declaration of war. But the German sympathies of King

Italy enters, May.

The Balkans, Sept.-Dec.

Constantine, whose queen was the Kaiser's sister, prevailed. Venizelos fell, and Greece, very much divided in sentiment, remained officially neutral.

Early in the year the hum of the first Zeppelin night-raiders and the crash of their first bombs had been heard in England. By sea there was a cruiser engagement off the Dogger Bank in January. In February, to give her submarines free play against shipping destined for England, Germany proclaimed a 'blockade' of the British Isles, and Britain replied by proclaiming a blockade of Germany. In May Germany followed up her use of the forbidden poison gas with the sinking of the great 'liner' *Lusitania*, apparently unconscious that the act would horrify the conscience of the entire civilised world, being in plain terms a deliberate massacre of defenceless non-combatants. From that time her 'U-boat' atrocities became merely commonplace. Air and sea.

Outside Europe, Britain with the assent of her allies had proclaimed Egypt a British Protectorate soon after the declaration of war with Turkey. Her expulsion from Egypt was a part of the Kaiser's design, and Turkish troops from Syria were attacking the Suez Canal—very unsuccessfully—early in February. Here there was as yet no counter-offensive; but in the autumn British troops from India were advancing from the Persian Gulf upon Baghdad; but being only an advance guard, not in sufficient force to make use of their victories in the field, they were obliged to fall back. And finally the operations of the South African forces directed by General Botha—once the stubborn foe of the British Empire, now the loyal son of the Commonwealth—completed the conquest of German West Africa soon after midsummer. Asia and Africa.

II. In the Balance: Jan. 1916-July 1918.

The War in 1916; Jutland and the Somme—Russia, and the Push, 1917—The Crisis, 1918.

During the first half of 1916 no heavy blows on either side were struck along the British section of the western front. The Germans concentrated on a tremendous attack which opened in February on the French line at the point where it circled round Verdun. For days it was feared that they would break through; for weeks the situation was critical; it was not till 1. 1916. Verdun, Feb.-May.

June that they abandoned the attempt—but the French line held. After the first great shocks had failed, the Austrians made a great thrust against the Italians on the Trentino, but again the thrusting power was exhausted when it seemed on the verge of success.

At the moment when the Austrian rush was held up the Germans made their one great naval effort. Their fleet came out in force and engaged a portion of the British fleet until the approaching British main fleet began to come into action; when the skill of the German commander enabled it to draw away, break off the engagement, and escape to port—failing to entice the pursuit into its minefields. The losses on both sides in the battle of Jutland (May 31) were heavy; the German fleet was not destroyed; Germany even claimed the escape from destruction as a victory. But the fleet only emerged from port again—two and a half years later—to be handed over to the victors in the Great War.

Jutland, May 31.

During those months there were two unhappy episodes in the British record. The advanced force in Mesopotamia, which had fallen back to Kut-el-Amara on the Tigris, was pinned to that spot; the rising of the river held up the troops which were struggling to advance to its relief; and the force itself after a prolonged resistance was compelled to surrender. In Ireland an attempt was made to raise a rebellion. On the western front Nationalists and Unionists had been fighting with equal heroism side by side; the revolt was the work of only a few extremists; Nationalists and Unionists joined in its suppression, and it was over in a fortnight—Ireland did not desert the cause. But it was a shock to find that there was even a section whose hostility to England blinded them to the world's need of breaking the German menace. The significance of the event was not military but political.

Kut-el Amara, April.

Ireland.

The acceptance of a long-delayed scheme of Conscription or General Compulsory Service in Great Britain extended the field from which British armies could be recruited. The South African troops were still detained for necessary campaigns in German East Africa.

The German attack on Verdun was practically exhausted when the battle of the Somme began on July 1. This was not like the earlier battles of Ypres, of Neuve Chapelle and Loos, of Verdun and the Trentino, a thrust to break through at a particular point, but a push along the whole British line and the French line on its right flank, to force the whole German line

The Somme battle, July-Sept.

back towards the frontier. For three months no week passed in which there was not at one point or another a struggle which in any other war would have counted by itself as a big battle. In the Somme battle, the 'Tanks' made their first appearance—grotesque monsters, half fortress on wheels, half battering-ram, armoured impenetrably, crashing stolidly through or over every obstacle, spitting shot and shell. At the end of the three months the loss of life on both sides had been enormous, though it was reckoned that the Germans had suffered the more heavily. A considerable belt of ground had been recaptured, and yet the whole strip was so narrow that the gain was distinguishable only on large-sized maps.

The German battle-fleet had retired for good after Jutland; but the 'U-boat' or submarine war upon non-combatant shipping went on with increasing intensity, and Zeppelins continued to excite more anger than alarm except in some crowded London districts.

In August, Rumania entered the war on the side of the Allies; but she made the mistake of striking not at Bulgaria on the south, but at Hungary on the west. The result was that after a few weeks Austro-German forces were overrunning southern Rumania, and she seemed not unlikely to suffer the same fate as Serbia; since the western Allies could not come to her aid, and the chance that Russia would be able to do so was small. For the south Russian army was at grips with Austro-Germans in Galicia, the northern border province of the Austrian Empire. Rumania, Aug.-Dec.

Lord Kitchener had retained the public confidence till the end, but his life had been lost at sea in June. The British public, inspired with hopes of an early victory by the Somme advance, irritated by the persistence of the submarine war, and sorely disappointed by the Rumanian collapse, lost patience with the Government, which seemed lacking in energy and audacity. Mr. Asquith with several of his ablest colleagues resigned, and Mr. Lloyd George, the embodiment of energy and audacity, took his place at the head of the Coalition ministry in December. Mr. Lloyd George, Dec.

MEANWHILE the Mesopotamian expedition, directed by the Indian Government, had been re-organised, the advance was renewed, and in March 1917 Baghdad was occupied in force. On the other hand, a southern offensive against the Turks, directed from Egypt, was held up at Gaza on the Palestine border. The U-boat warfare became more instead of less destructive, 2. 1917. Critical changes.

and the expressed determination of Germany to deny any immunity to neutrals at last drove the United States to abandon their neutrality, to declare war on Germany in April, and to set about vigorous preparations for taking an active part on the side of the Allies.

Enter America, April.

In March also came an event destined entirely to alter the character of the struggle. This was a revolution in Russia, first organised and directed by the Constitutional party which believed that the monarchy was falling—or had fallen—under German influences. For the moment it seemed that the revolution would be a bloodless affair, and would breathe fresh energy into the Russian armies. But in three months the Constitutionalists were displaced by idealists with excellent intentions but no practical understanding of the business of carrying on a government; and before another six months—of what was practically civil war—were over, the idealists had been overturned by the Bolsheviks. Bolshevism is a political creed inspired by one motive—hatred of the existing social order based upon private property and personal rights—and having one aim, the destruction of that order. It cared nothing at all for the war against Germany, though it was willing enough to take from Germany whatever it could get. Till the Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin and Trotsky, came into power, Russia was off the board as far as the European war was concerned, because she was torn by civil strife; and afterwards the Bolshevik domination of Russia was all in Germany's favour; though its full value to her was only made manifest to the world twelve months after the revolution began.

The Russian revolution, March-Dec.

On the western or Anglo-French front the forward pressure continued. Near the junction of French and British the advance was brought to a halt in March, before St. Quentin. In April the Vimy ridge north of Arras was captured. In May the French on the line between Rheims and Verdun carried the almost impregnable Craonne ridge. In June the British, by the biggest mining operation on record, blew up half the Messines ridge and captured the whole of it. Then farther north, the Passchendaele ridge was carried by the British, and in the south the Chemin-des-Dames by the French. In November a brilliant British effort almost penetrated Cambrai, but it was saved by a tremendous concentration of German troops, and most of the ground gained there was lost again.

The western push, Feb.-Nov.

On the Italian side it seemed in the summer that the Italians were on the point of capturing Trieste on the 'Isonzo' front, but the tables were suddenly turned in October. A tremendous Austrian thrust almost shattered the Italian army and drove it reeling back towards Venice till it was able to make a successful stand behind the River Piave, just before Christmas. In the Balkan peninsula there was some improvement in the position owing to the abdication of King Constantine and the return of Venizelos to power in Greece. And on December 9 the British, under a new commander, Allenby, had not only thrust into Palestine but occupied Jerusalem—the Holy City, for the possession of which Moslem and Christian had waged ceaseless war in the Middle Ages, and which had been held by the Moslems for more than seven centuries past.

The Austrian thrust, Oct. Dec.

Jerusalem captured, Dec.

Meanwhile the submarines had been doing their deadly work, though at great peril and with frequent disaster to themselves. But they failed to prevent the import of food and other supplies to Great Britain from America and elsewhere, though they so far reduced it that the country was put on rations, an infliction which the British blockade had for a long time imposed upon the Central Powers. The air-raids on England continued, with air-plane squadrons in place of Zeppelins.

But now the crisis was arriving. On the one hand, a few months would see the armies of the Allies in the west reinforced by new armies from America. On the other, Rumania was prostrate and the Bolshevik Government in Russia was negotiating the Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany which left the Central Powers free to transfer masses of troops from the east to the west. If the Germans were to win, they must smash that western line before the Americans came in.

3. 1918. Crisis.

Their chance arrived in March. A weak spot was created for a moment at the point of junction between French and British by the extension of the British right over ground hitherto in charge of the French. The moment was seized by the German commander, Ludendorff. A terrific attack was launched at the weak spot on March 21. It broke in, severed the line, rolled the British back across the battlefields over which they had advanced in the last three years. If the thrust could have been maintained, driven through the gap till it turned the British flank, and still kept going, it must have rolled the British line up to the sea.

The shock, March-April.

But the rush was exhausted before the British flank could be turned. Stretched and strained though they were, the French and British lines recovered touch still covering Amiens; and the thrust was brought to a stand at the end of a fortnight. From Arras northward the British had held their ground all through.

The second shock, April.

With hardly a breathing space, the second onslaught was delivered—north of Arras this time—on April 9. This was to be a break-through to Calais. It bent the line back like a bow—but it did not break the bow, and the ends held fast. That thrust too was brought to a standstill before the end of the month; and meanwhile, by a gigantic effort, reinforcements which made good the losses were raised and poured in from Britain. Before another blow could be struck, the British line would be so strengthened that an attempt to break it would be doomed to failure.

Zeebrugge, April.

Moreover, those anxious weeks, when the British troops were fighting, grimly indomitable, 'with their backs to the wall,' only intensified the dogged resolve of the British people to hold on to the last gasp at whatever sacrifice. And if heart was needed it was given when in the darkest hour a British flotilla, knowing perfectly well what it was doing, plunged 'into the jaws of death' to put out of action the nests of submarines in the harbours of Zeebrugge and Ostend, and emerged again maimed but triumphant, with its work accomplished. Also during those weeks another change had taken place of first-rate importance. General Foch was placed in supreme command of the French armies, and not of the French only, but of the whole of the allied military operations.

All or nothing, May.

But Foch's hour had not yet come when after nearly a month's pause for breath and re-concentration, at the end of May, Ludendorff launched the next crashing blow, this time on the French front. It was a repetition of the two blows against the British. It swept the French back over their old battle-fields, from the Chemin-des-Dames, from the Craonne ridge, back to the earlier line that covered Verdun and Rheims; but the French line kept touch with the British line—now permanently steadied—on its left; and the French line did not snap. Like the rest, the thrust came to a stand before Rheims within three weeks, though there was a deep indent—west of Rheims—in the French line, towards Paris. And American troops had entered the fighting line.

There was to be one more desperate effort; but before it came the

Austrians made their last thrust, on the Piave (June 15). Though at one point the passage of the river was forced, the advance was held up on the second day, was brought to a standstill, and on the eighth day the new positions which had been won were abandoned. Austria's striking power was in fact exhausted, though the Italians were not yet ready to strike back. Last Austrian effort, June.

III. Victory and Peace Terms: July 1918–June 1919.

The Allies' Triumph—Armistice and Peace Conference—Treaty of Versailles.

LUDENDORFF knew, and Foch knew, that if he struck again without winning an absolutely decisive victory, the best that Germany could hope for would be a peace falling far short of her ambitions. But Foch was confident that the blow would be parried and that the terms of the peace would be dictated by the Allies to a vanquished foe. On July 15 Ludendorff struck; on the east of Rheims, where the blow failed from the outset, and on the west of it into the 'Marne pocket,' where for three days it seemed that it might succeed. On the fourth day, July 18, Foch struck back—the first blow. In two days the Germans were extricating themselves with great difficulty from the Marne pocket to save the force there from annihilation. The failure was the beginning of the end. It was the turn of the Allies to attack at the points of their own choice—and the points chosen prevented the Germans from concentrating anywhere. And each blow was swiftly followed by a blow at a fresh point, without pause, for six weeks. 1. The last throw, July.

The British right, under Rawlinson, opened—in front of Amiens—on August 8. In the course of a fortnight the armies on the French left came into play successively; then Byng, on Rawlinson's left. Again farther on the left, the Canadians in the fourth week broke through where the German line had been reputed to be impregnable. At the beginning of the sixth week, on September 13, the Germans were out of St. Mihiel on the extreme right of the Allies, south of Verdun, and the Americans were in it. Foch strikes, August–Sept.

Then came the one pause—almost a fortnight—in the west; while the east took its turn. On September 15 the Bulgars broke before the Allies' attack in Macedonia; in the next few days they had gone completely to pieces; on September 30 Bulgaria accepted the Allies' terms and surrendered. On September 19 The east, Sept.

Allenby in Palestine crushed the Turkish forces at the brilliantly-planned battle of Megiddo; Syria was open to him, and on October 1 he was in Damascus.

Already on September 26 the French left had reopened the attack which, in the next two days, extended along the whole British line on the north, and then along the whole Franco-American line on the south. For the next six weeks the Germans were being persistently rolled back to the Rhine; fighting stubbornly at every point which could be held for a time till it was stormed or turned and the forces holding it could only keep touch on the right or left by retreating. The Austrians were cleared out of Serbia, and were already asking for peace when the Allies, in the last week of October, delivered the decisive attack on the Piave line which brought them completely to their knees. The Turkish army in Mesopotamia was smashed to pieces on October 30; Turkey surrendered next day. Austria surrendered on November 3. Germany was now proposing terms of peace very much as if she were a magnanimous victor. The Allies rejected them and continued their victorious advance.

The second advance, Sept.-Nov.

But the end had come. The German fleet mutinied. Ludendorff had already resigned his command. On November 9 the Kaiser abdicated and took refuge in neutral Holland. On November 10, there was a revolution in Berlin. During the 'small hours' of November 11, the Canadians entered Mons. An hour before noon on that day an armistice was proclaimed; the last shot had been fired. That same evening the Armistice terms were signed by the representatives of the new German Government; no bargain, but terms dictated by the commanders of victorious armies and fleets to a foe which knew but tried hard not to confess itself vanquished.

The end, Nov. 11.

2. The Armistice.

An armistice is not a peace; the Armistice terms were not peace terms, but the conditions upon which the Allies consented to suspend active hostilities for a fixed period of time during which peace terms might be arranged; conditions which would make it impossible for Germany to oppose an armed resistance to any terms the Allies might choose to offer. The Germans were forthwith to hand over vast quantities of munitions and war material, and their U-boats; to surrender their fleet to the custody of the British; to withdraw their troops out of all occupied territory to a distance of six miles beyond the Rhine, on the east bank of which the Allies were to

hold the bridge-heads so that they could pour troops across it if need should be. Alsace-Lorraine, torn from France in 1871, was thus restored to her, to the joy of its inhabitants (except the Germans who had been settled in it during the interval). On November 21 the disarmed fleet was delivered to the British and steamed away to Scapa Flow in the north—where seven months later it was scuttled by its own crews, a week before the signing of the Peace Treaty by the German Government.

In January 1919 the Peace Conference opened in Paris; a Conference, that is, between the representatives of the victor states to settle upon the terms which they would jointly offer or dictate to the vanquished states. America was represented by President Wilson in person; the United Kingdom by the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George. For the first time in history, the Dominions of the Commonwealth had their own separate representatives. Not only all the states which had taken an active part in the war shared in the conference; joined with them were several states, chiefly South or Central American, which had 'declared war' on the Central Powers without engaging in the actual fighting. But necessarily those which carried the most weight were the 'Big Five,' France and Britain, the United States, Italy, and in a less degree Japan which had played a useful part in the first stage of the war. Only one of the original Allies was omitted—Russia; for she had dropped out, making her own terms, and she was now in the throes of a prolonged civil war, with no established government, and dominated (though not yet decisively) by the Bolsheviks whom no other government was disposed to recognise; partly because of the inhuman atrocities of which they had been guilty, partly because they avowed themselves to be the enemies of all governments which rested upon the existing 'Capitalist' social system, and partly because no one could guess how long their domination would last.

The Peace Conference, Jan. 1919.

A little more than one hundred years before, the Powers had assembled in the Congress of Vienna, at the close of more than twenty years of almost ceaseless warfare, with a similar task before them. They intended to reconstruct the map of the wrecked Continent of Europe on lines paying a decent regard to justice, rewarding those who had taken the right side, penalising those who had supported the wrong. They wanted also security against any repetition of the recent wars. But justice for them meant mainly justice not to peoples but to the sovereign dynasties, especially the

A comparison.

more powerful of them; and for security the mightiest of those sovereigns devised the 'Holy League' of Princes. Their effort was so far successful that for forty years after Waterloo no 'Powers' were ever at war with each other, though there was an endless series of insurrectionary wars and 'wars of liberation' with very varying results.

The task of the Peace Conference, if similar, was infinitely bigger. Justice meant penalising the offenders, and not rewarding but compensating those who had suffered for the right. Justice meant a due regard for the welfare and the rights not of princes but of peoples; transfer of territory from one state to another, unless such justice were observed, would lead not to security but to rankling ill-feeling and to new wars. There could be no guarantee of security without a League to enforce it; but it must be a League of Nations not of sovereigns, and of nations ready to sacrifice some particular interests for the general good. The Holy League had specialised, so to speak, on safe-guarding the rights of princes over their subjects; but President Wilson had declared that America entered the war 'to make the world safe for Democracy.' The foundation of the new map was to be nationality, and the right of nationalities to 'self[1]-determination.' On the principles there was general agreement; but to work out the details of a practical scheme was infinitely difficult. And unless the scheme created a new goodwill among the nations, it would not lay the spectre of war. Lastly, great as had been the destruction wrought by the Napoleonic wars, it was trifling in comparison with that of the Great War. The world's work and the world's workers had been for four years almost entirely absorbed in the business of destroying and of creating instruments of destruction for which there was no use in peace-time; it must begin anew to produce the things of which every one stood in greater need than ever before. The peace must be one under which industrial production could be vigorously revived.

The Conference's task.

THE outcome of the deliberations of the Conference was the Treaty of Versailles. Germany was to pay as much of the war bill as it was possible to wring from her. Germans, from the ex-Kaiser down, who were charged with being responsible for war crimes, were to be brought to trial and duly punished (though, if they had escaped to neutral territory like William II.,

3. The Treaty of Versailles.

[1] To choose for themselves, that is, whether they should be independent or should be incorporated in other states.

there was no legal way of securing their surrender or arrest). Alsace-Lorraine was to be part of France. The Trentino and Trieste, all of the Austrian dominions that was undeniably Italian, was to be added to the Italian kingdom. Germany was to give up all her colonies (out of every one of which she had actually been turned, by force of arms, during the war). The old State of Poland—which had been divided up between Russia, Prussia, and Austria at the end of the eighteenth century—was to be restored. The South or Yugo-Slavs of the former Austrian Empire were to be united to Serbia. Transylvania (part of Hungary), where the bulk of the population was Rumanian by race and in customs, was to be transferred to Rumania; so was the border province of Bessarabia, which had been filched from her by Russia in the last century. The Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire—Finland, Esthonia, and Lithuania—were to be recognised as independent states. So was Czecho-Slovakia, that is Bohemia with the other North-Slav provinces of what had been the Austrian Empire. Hungary, shorn of Transylvania, was to be a separate state; Austria herself, the predominantly German region on the west of that Empire, was also to be an independent state, but forbidden to join herself with Germany. The restoration of the Imperial dynasties of Hohenzollern (German) and Hapsburg (Austrian) was forbidden. (Every state in the Central Empires, and also Bulgaria, had on its own account already abolished its monarchy.) In Germany, in Austria, and in Hungary the armies were to be reduced to small numbers, and Conscription was forbidden. Allied forces were to remain for a time in occupation of German territories.

The new map.

A very important section of the Treaty provided for the formation of a League of Nations, pledged to do their utmost to prevent wars in the future; a scheme in the shaping whereof the American President had been particularly zealous. Russia under present circumstances and the whole group of the defeated states could not be immediately admitted to the League, but their exclusion was to be temporary. All other states recognised as fully civilised might be admitted at once. The powers of the League were to be exercised through an International Council which could be called in to arbitrate upon disputed questions, though as yet the means to be placed at its disposal for enforcing its awards were very limited. To begin with, however, it was to have the very important business of dealing with the non-European territories of the defeated Powers,

The League of Nations.

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EUROPE

in January 1922

English Miles

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or rather of settling who (if willing to undertake the task) should be entrusted with the duty of governing them as 'mandatory' of the League. (Such territories would not be 'possessions' of the mandatory Power, which would be acting, so to speak, as the League's Viceroy.)

Though on all these points there was general agreement, on many points of detail there were acute differences among the Allies reserved for later settlement; of which we shall speak hereafter.

Reparations.

At the moment, however, it was felt that Germany, the great transgressor, could not by any possibility make good to the Allies the destruction of merely material wealth of which she had been the cause, but that she must be made to pay the last penny within her power, and that it must be put out of her power to prepare for a war of revenge. How much it would be possible for her to pay, and in what form the payment could with most advantage be demanded, was very much a matter of guess-work; and it has since been generally admitted that the guess did in fact place the amount impossibly high, though it was and is equally certain that Germany was able to pay a great deal more than she would admit when the terms were submitted to her.

Germany protested against the treaty, threatened vainly, and after long delay yielded—having indeed no choice—but with the declaration that it was not in her power to fulfil the promises she was being compelled to make. Nevertheless, she made them, signing the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919.

Signature.

IV. The Settlement: 1919-1922.

What the War meant—Difficulties of Settlement—The Near East—The League of Nations.

THE Great War was an upheaval of the civilised world such as had never before been known. In all previous wars, it was only a small section of the population of any country that had taken part in the actual fighting. In the biggest of them, the Napoleonic wars, in which Britain and France were fighting continuously, the novels of Jane Austen show us how amazingly little the life of ordinary people in Great Britain was touched. The war was the business of the professional soldiers and sailors; the ordinary man went about his ordinary business and the ordinary woman about hers.

1. The great upheaval.

But in this Great War, every able-bodied man in the country was either turned into a soldier or was working to produce or distribute the things that were needed by the soldiers; and most men who were not physically fit, and most women, were not doing their own usual work, but were either doing such war jobs as they were fit for, or carrying on in the place of those who had been called up. The war gave every one more work than he could do, but it was work that would cease when the war ceased. And all the time wealth was not being produced, but only a bare sufficiency of the necessaries of life; the money and the energy that should have been expended on its production were being expended on producing the munitions which were consumed as fast as they could be produced; leaving nothing, but destroying life and the wealth that already existed. The Napoleonic wars impoverished the world, but the impoverishment of those twenty-three years was trivial as compared with the impoverishment wrought by the four years of the Great War.

The war was fought for a great Cause; to save the world from the mastery of a people which proclaimed that Might is Right, that the weak must go down before the strong, and that for the strong there is no law but his own will. It was won, because Might is not so mighty as it seems, nor weakness so weak as it seems when the one is moved by a base motive and the other by a noble one. The might on which Germany calculated so confidently was shattered because its material superiority, not so great as she reckoned, was redressed by the moral or spiritual superiority on the Allies' side, which she had left out of her reckoning. The war saved the world from German domination; but at frightful cost. And when the war was over, the world could save itself from itself only if the spiritual motive continued to prevail; the spirit which not only demands justice but can recognise that what seems bare justice to ourselves may be very unjust to some one else. That is not easy. In the hour of battle, men will give all, endure all, and die heroically that others may live; but the heroic passion dies down when the stress of the strife is passed. They are not so ready for sacrifice, not so ready to trust their comrades, not so ready to give. In cold blood, they are apt to be thinking more of their rights than of their duty, of their own interests than of their neighbour's.

The needed spirit.

The Treaty of Versailles was honestly meant to be just. But it was more than difficult to be just at once to France and Belgium who had

suffered the most monstrously at the hands of Germany, and to Germany herself. The peace terms, though far short of what was due to France and Belgium, were so crippling to Germany that they would have beggared her for half a century. She deserved it, no doubt, but if she were beggared for half a century, all Europe, including France and Belgium, would suffer. France and Belgium wanted security against another attack; they could not have it without annexing really German territory (as Germany fifty years before had gained security by annexing Alsace-Lorraine), or by crippling Germany so that she should never again have the strength to strike. Neither Britain nor Italy was willing that Germany should be so crippled, because every one stood in need of a restored German trade. Thus France and Belgium could not help wishing to stiffen the terms against Germany, while the rest could not help wishing to relax them. And Germany herself made it all the harder to deal with her generously, by the perpetual proofs she gave that she was quite unrepentant and unashamed, and only meant to keep her promises when breaking them would bring down more penalties upon her. For failure to pay and failure to disarm she had plenty of plausible excuses; but how far they were genuine and how far mere pretences no one could really tell—though naturally France was much less willing than Britain to give her the benefit of the doubt.

2. The treatment of Germany.

And yet the future peace of Europe depended first on the constant agreement of Britain and France, their close co-operation and goodwill; and secondly upon the regeneration of a self-respecting Germany, redeemed from being an outcast among the nations. Third was the regeneration of a Russia not hostile to all Western ideas of public and private morality and of social order. And that could not come about until Bolshevik domination was destroyed, or the Bolshevik leopard changed its spots. Then, while the old Austrian Empire had been broken up, there were seven new or old independent states, from the Baltic to the Danube, between Russia and Western Europe, with conflicting claims to border territories (Poland especially, on every side), which might start trouble. Slavs and Italians had their own conflicting claims to coast districts and ports from end to end of the Adriatic. And finally there was the settlement of Turkey.

Essentials for peace.

Over these questions, then, there was constant friction between the big Governments. The respective claims of Serbia and Italy to the

Adriatic ports were only adjusted with great difficulty. The division of Silesia on the German-Polish border was a subject of hot dispute finally settled by its submission to the award of the League of Nations. The most serious of all the differences were those arising over the enforcement of Germany's payments for 'Reparations,' in which France took her stand on the Versailles Treaty, and Britain took hers on the necessity for relaxing those terms in Germany's favour; and over the renewal of intercourse with Russia, where the Bolshevik or Soviet Government was continuously and mercilessly crushing every antagonist. Conference after conference was held, without apparently bringing the question any nearer to a solution.

Friction.

Only, indeed, at one conference did it seem that real and important steps were taken towards establishing the world's peace and restricting if not actually reducing the terrific burden of armaments. At the Washington Conference in 1921, the Powers which had clashing interests in the Pacific arrived at a complete agreement on all the questions at issue between them. And at the same time the great Naval Powers fixed by agreement the standard which each was not to exceed, except in relation to submarines—which Britain would have liked to see abolished.

The Washington Conference, 1921.

Now the misrule of the Mohammedan Turks over their Christian subjects, mainly in Europe, but also in Western Asia, had been an almost ceaseless source of disquietude to the Christian states of Europe throughout the last century. The feeling that somebody ought to intervene by force, but that no one might do so singlehanded, had brought about a series of wars—the Greek war of Independence, the Crimean war, the Russo-Turkish war, the Greco-Turkish war at the end of the nineteenth century, the first Balkan war in the twentieth. Now Turkey had thrown in her lot with the grand disturbers of European peace; she had challenged the Western Powers, and the Western Powers were together entitled to settle the Turkish question once for all—if they could. The Treaty of Versailles was intended to settle the German question; its system of 'mandates' was intended to settle the Turkish question.

3. The Near East.

The joint scheme of the Powers was that Turkey should be allowed to retain in Europe only Constantinople. Of what else she held there in an uncertain grip when the Great War began, Albania was to be an independent state, Macedonia and Thrace were to go to

Greece. In Asia a mandate handed over Mesopotamia and Palestine to Britain, Syria to France. The United States declined to accept any responsibilities; Armenia was to be an independent state. The Dardanelles and the surrounding region were to be neutralised under the control of the League of Nations. Smyrna on the west coast of Asia Minor was to be given to Greece. Those were to be the main lines of the settlement in the Treaty of Sèvres to which the official Government of the Sultan submitted in the summer of 1920. What really mattered, however, was not the official Government but the effective military Government of the Nationalist Turks led by Mustapha Kemal in Asiatic Turkey, which continued defiant. How the whole Turkish question affected the British Commonwealth in particular we shall see presently. What it led to directly was war between the Greeks and the Turkish Nationalists; a war in which, most unhappily, the Greeks were taught to believe that British sympathies were all on their side, and the Turks that French sympathies were all on theirs; whereby a painful mistrust was fomented between the two great nations whose accord was so vital to the establishment of the world's peace, each suspecting the other of encouraging Greeks or Turks for its own ends.

The Treaty of Sèvres, 1920.

In the autumn of 1922 the Treaty of Sèvres was shivered. The Greco-Turkish war brought disaster on the Greeks, whose ambitions had plunged them into an adventure which they were quite incapable of carrying through single-handed. In September the Kemalists captured and destroyed Smyrna and cleared the Greeks out of Asia. They were only prevented from pursuing the defeated foe into Europe by the presence of British forces for the defence of the neutral zone of the Dardanelles. The Allies were not prepared to go to war in order to defend the Greeks from the consequence of their rashness, and they came to terms with Mustapha Kemal—terms which restored not only Ionia, the part of Asia Minor which the Sèvres Treaty had given to Greece, but also Eastern Thrace, to the Turkish sovereignty. In November, the Kemalists deposed the Sultan and proclaimed a new Khalif of Islam.

Kemal, 1922.

WHAT, then, had become of the League of Nations, and of America, whose President had been so prominent at the Peace Conference?

The League as a matter of fact did a great deal of very valuable work during these three years. But it could only exercise powers expressly entrusted to it by consent of every nation which joined it, and

it had no authority over nations which did not join it. The nations that did join it were not inclined to give it very large powers of control over their own actions, at least until its constitution and machinery had been tested by experience. And although many nations, large and small, came in, its authority would always be limited until all the great nations and nearly all the small ones were members. But as yet, two of the biggest—Germany and Russia—were excluded; and a third, America, after all declined to enter it. The President had not had the country behind him; it refused to be a party to the Peace Treaty, and it refused to join the League. Also, the nations which did join did not place their armies and navies at the orders of the League's Council. Until peace were established, none of the Great Powers would risk being either ordered or forbidden to resort to arms against its own judgment.

The League of Nations.

Thus the League's powers were very limited. It could enquire into and collect information upon any subjects submitted to it by the various Governments, and could recommend action; but each Government remained free to accept or reject its advice. It could arbitrate in a dispute if it were invited to do so by one of the parties; it would be difficult for them after that to set its award on one side, but, if they did, it had only one means of enforcing its award—a means very much like 'sending a boy to Coventry' instead of beating him. That is, it would proclaim that the nations of the League would have no commercial intercourse with that country until it obeyed the award, a warning which might or might not bring it to obedience. But that was all. As a matter of fact, it was called upon to arbitrate three times; when its arbitration prevented a war between Sweden and Finland, stopped a war which was beginning between Serbia and Albania, and smoothed away a very critical situation in Silesia.

What the League could do.

But the League's powers being so limited, the big issues still remained in the hands of the 'Supreme Council' of the armed 'Big Three' (Britain, France, and Italy—America and Japan standing aside so far as Europe was concerned), who if they chose could forcibly compel obedience to decrees upon which they were agreed; if they were not agreed, there existed no means of compulsion. And upon the big issues upon which not only the prosperity but even the security of each depended, the Big Three were not, at least as yet, ready to submit to any authority but their own.

The Supreme Council.

V. The Commonwealth in and after the War: 1914-1922.

The Commonwealth, 1914-18—Ireland, 1919-22—Greater Britain, 1919-22—Great Britain, 1919-22.

THE great crisis of 1914 silenced almost entirely even the gravest of sectional and party disputes throughout the British Commonwealth.

1. August, 1914. A very small number of intelligent and highly-educated people were honestly convinced that to go into the war was a blunder. They stood aside for the most part. A small number believed that to fight even in defence of others is a sin; they did not count. A few people in every class saw a chance of wringing advantages for themselves or for their class out of the country's need, and such people were unhappily able to do a great deal of harm; but they were few. Some Boers in South Africa, some Irishmen in or out of Ireland, still believed that patriotism called them to fight for the downfall of England, even though doing so meant fighting to set the world under Germany's heel. They, too, gave trouble at times. But the enormous majority all the world over, whatever their sex or class or race, made up their minds in the first week that the war must be fought out and won at any personal sacrifice.

In the House of Commons, Unionists led by Mr. Bonar Law, Ulstermen led by Sir Edward Carson, Nationalists led by Mr. John Redmond,

1914-16. Labour men with certain exceptions, were agreed that the nation must show a united front and set aside all other controversies till the war should be won. The only one of the contentious measures then before Parliament which became law was the Welsh Disestablishment Bill. The war was carried on by the Liberal Government until in May 1915 Mr. Asquith invited Unionists and Labour men to unite with his own party in forming under him a National instead of a party ministry, since the winning of the war was the grand object of all parties alike. The magnificent response made to the call to arms by every one of the Dominions and Dependencies, and by Ireland, wrought a general conviction that both India and Ireland had proved their title to much larger measures of autonomy than most Englishmen had hitherto been inclined to approve. The women of the country had risen to the occasion so splendidly that their right to the parliamentary franchise was acknowledged by many of those who had most resolutely opposed it, and 'Votes for women' were granted in 1916.

ARCTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC OCEAN
Arctic Circle
Dominion of Canada
Queen Charlotte Is.
Vancouver I.
NORTH AMERICA
Tropic of Cancer
Johnston I.
Howland I.
Washington I.
Fanning I.
Christmas I.
Jarvis I.
Baker I.
Phoenix Is.
Tokelau Is.
Starbuck I.
Manihiki Is.
Union Is.
Cook Is.
Tonga Is.
Ducie I.
Pitcairn I.
Kermadec Is.
Chatham Is.
PACIFIC OCEAN
Equator
Tropic of Capricorn
Bahamas
Turks Is.
Jamaica
British Honduras
West Indies
British Guiana
SOUTH AMERICA
Bermudas
Newfoundland
Channel Is.
Nova Scotia
BRITISH ISLANDS
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
EUROPE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Gibraltar
Malta
Cyprus
Palestine
Mesopotamia
Egypt
Bahrein Is.
Aden
Kuria Muria Is.
Laccadive
Maldive Is.
Ceylon
Nicobar Is.
Andaman Is.
Straits Settlements
INDIA
Hongkong
PACIFIC OCEAN
British North Borneo
British New Guinea
Solomon Is.
Gilbert Is.
Nauru
Ellice Is.
Sta. Cruz Is.
Louisiade Archi.
Fiji Is.
Norfolk I.
Ld. Howe I.
New Zealand
Tasmania
Bounty I.
Antipodes I.
Auckland I.
Campbell I.
Macquarie I.
Australia
Sierra Leone
Gambia
Nigeria
Angio Egyptian Sudan
British Somaliland
Uganda
Kenya Colony
Tanganyika Terr.
Zanzibar
Gold Coast
Ascension
St. Helena
Seychelles
Chagos Is.
Amirante Is.
Rodriguez
Mauritius
INDIAN OCEAN
Christmas I.
Keeling or Cocos Is.
S.W. Africa Prot.
Walfish Bay
Penguin Is.
British South Africa
Tristan da Cunha
Falkland Is.
South Georgia
South Shetland Is.
South Orkney Is.
Graham Land
Part of the BRITISH WEST INDIES
Virgin Is.
Sombrero
Anguilla
Barbuda
Antigua
St. Kitts
Nevis
Montserrat
Dominica
St. Lucia
St. Vincent
Barbados
Grenada
Tobago
Trinidad
THE WORLD
showing British Commonwealth, 1922
British Possessions shaded, thus:-
or the Names underlined, thus:-
Malta
Territory under British occupation
180° 150° Long. 120° West 90° 60° 30° 0° 30° 60° 90° Long. 120° East 150° 180°
Meridian of 0° Greenwich
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The troubles of that year, however, shook the popular confidence in Mr. Asquith's leadership. Consequently in December he, with several of his supporters, withdrew from the Government which remained in office under the leadership of Mr. Lloyd George, criticised but not opposed by its former chief. When, two years later, the war was brought to its triumphant conclusion, Mr. Asquith held that the peace-settlement could not be successfully effected by the continued coalition of parties which during the war had no differences of principle such as must divide them on the questions which the peace must bring to an issue. On these questions there could, in his view, be no satisfactory compromises. The Prime Minister and the Coalition took a different view; so did the country; and when the General Election was held—the life of the Parliament having by common consent been extended beyond the limit set in the Parliament Act—less than thirty of Mr. Asquith's supporters retained their seats, there was some increase in the number of Labour members, and the pledged supporters of the Premier's Coalition, Unionist or Liberal, outnumbered the rest of the parties put together by more than two hundred. For the first time, women voted in the election, and women members were returned to the House of Commons. But Ireland was represented only by the Ulstermen and a handful of Nationalists. Almost three-fourths of the Irish seats were captured by the new Irish party of Independence known as Sinn Fein, who refused to take any part in the proceedings of a 'Parliament of the United Kingdom' at Westminster.

The new leader, 1916-18.

That party had developed since the insurrection of 1916, for which the British public held the weakness of the Liberal Chief Secretary responsible. It had been fostered by an ill-managed attempt to extend to Ireland the Conscription for military service which was adopted in Great Britain in 1916. Its avowed aim was the establishment of complete Irish Independence, whereas the Nationalist demand was limited to autonomy for all Ireland under a single Irish parliament. It had also adopted the doctrines that the unlimited right of 'self-determination' could not be questioned, and that any sort of armed resistance to an alien rule was justifiable, including what in other circumstances would be denounced as murder and outrage. Sinn Fein rejected mere Nationalist leaders, claimed to represent the will of the Irish nation, proclaimed the Irish Republic, and organised an 'Irish Republican Army' (I.R.A.); it treated the

2. Sinn Fein, 1918.

British in Ireland as an enemy garrison, and those who supported British authority and British law as rebels and spies. And whether from terror or from sympathy it appeared that the mass of the Irish people outside Ulster was on the side of Sinn Fein and its methods.

Now, the old Home Rule Bill was dead. That is, it could not come into force without the Amending Act of 1914 which now would not be passed. The claims of Sinn Fein went far beyond that Bill, but some sort of Home Rule could not be permanently refused. Between Sinn Fein and the British Government there was a deadlock. Each professed to be the only lawful authority in Ireland. Sinn Fein claimed Ulster as a part of Ireland which could not be separated from the rest. Ulster would hold no parley with Sinn Fein—how could Sinn Fein deny her right of 'self-determination'? The British, whatever their views about Home Rule might be, were nearly unanimous in feeling that British coercion at any rate could not be applied to her. Wordy controversies raged over possible offers of 'Dominion Self-government,' by which different people meant different things. Sinn Fein continued to wage 'war' in its own fashion. The British Government declared that it could not make terms with avowed rebels, but was anxious to know what terms would satisfy reasonable public opinion in Ireland, subject to her allegiance to the British Crown, naval, military, and fiscal security, and recognition of the just claims of Ulster; but meanwhile, rebellion, outrage, and assassination must be suppressed.

The I.R.A.

The suppression was attempted, and as far as newspaper evidence was concerned it was soon difficult to tell whether the Sinn Fein outrages or the reprisals were the more shocking. But the whole bad business made it at last evident to those who had hitherto consistently opposed Home Rule that whether Ireland could or could not make law and order prevail if left to herself, it was not in England's power to do so. Ireland from end to end was sick of the ruthless destruction and bloodshed. The Coalition Government with the full support of its Unionist members and the bulk of its Unionist followers offered to treat with Ireland on the basis of a scheme which went far beyond anything proposed by previous governments, except on one point; Ireland should have a separate parliament with powers differing little from those of the Canadian or Australian Governments—but Ulster, too, should have her own government, absolutely separate from that of the 'Irish Free State,' though

Struggle and treaty, 1921-2.

with facilities for the union of the two if the time should come when they both desired it.

Ulster would have chosen to remain incorporated with Great Britain; but she made up her mind to accept the scheme. Despite the opposition of the determined and active minority of extremists who would be satisfied with nothing short of an independent Irish Republic, the Sinn Fein majority—not without reluctance—accepted the treaty early in January 1922; and though in the midst of clouds still heavy, a new era in Irish history dawned. Ulster.

THROUGHOUT the 'Dominions' the question of 'Self-Government' was already settled. Each of them had become a distinct state under its own Responsible Government, while the Imperial or Central Government of the Commonwealth only reserved for itself the rights of treaty-making with foreign Powers, of so much control over naval and military matters as was necessary for united action when need for action in the interests of the whole Commonwealth should arise, and finally the right, never at all likely to be put into practice, of overriding all other authority in extreme emergency. As yet the Central Government was still the 'King in Parliament,' the Parliament being that of Great Britain. The war, however, had insured that the voice of the Dominions would in the future count for more in relation to these reserved subjects than it had done in the past. The Irish treaty placed Ireland and Ulster in the same position as the Dominions, instead of including them as hitherto in a single autonomous unit with the rest of the British Isles. 3. The Dominions, 1914-22.

Within the whole Commonwealth, however, there were, besides the free Dominions, many regions large and small which were not self-governing but were under British Government though only a fraction of their population was of British or even of European race. Of these 'dependencies' or 'colonies'—to which, collectively, the term 'British Empire' remains appropriate—the larger were all in Asia or Africa; some of them only recently included in it as 'mandatory areas' in consequence of the war. And in regard to two of them, British India and the Egyptian Protectorate, the demand for Self-Government had now become insistent, with the demand (as in Ireland) for complete independence lurking behind it. The question in both cases for the British was: what degree of autonomy could be granted, consistently with the The Dependencies, 1919.

security of the British Commonwealth as a whole, and (in the interest of the populations themselves) with the security of law and order in those regions? In both cases, Self-Government could only be a more or less risky experiment. For good government is a very difficult business, requiring both skill and experience. However confident the peoples in India or in Egypt might be, the fact remained that neither had ever had experience of the most important part of the business of governing.

Egypt, 1919-22.

The governing of Egypt until the British began to take it in hand in 1882, had been done, and done for the most part very badly, by a small ruling class. The British Government since that date had enormously increased the prosperity of the country. But it had been undertaken with the expressed intention that it should only be for a short time. Now there had arisen the growing demand that it should cease. The demand was refused, but the active British control of Egyptian administration was to a great extent withdrawn in 1921-22.

India, 1914.

On the outbreak of the war, Indian loyalty was displayed to a degree which no one had expected. Even the entry of Turkey into the war did not shake the Mohammedans of India. The Sultan was the Khalif, the head of their religion, as to Roman Catholics the Pope is the head of the Christian religion; but they were satisfied with the British assurance that his legitimate authority would be maintained. India's response to the call in 1914, like Ireland's, carried the conviction that she deserved a bolder trust; she earned the right to the largest measure of autonomy which could be conceded to her with reasonable security. The result was the daring measure of administrative reform in British India known as the Montague-Chelmsford Act (from the India Secretary and the Viceroy who shaped it), 1920. The act in effect transferred to elected councils of natives of India in the several provinces the control of many but by no means all matters which had hitherto been in the hands of 'Indian Civilians,' British civilian officers responsible only to the British Government; it gave promise of further transfers in the future; it greatly increased the native control over the finances both of the Provinces and of the Supreme Government.

A new system, 1920.

The change was daring even to rashness; a few years before, no one would have dreamed of it as possible. But the war had immensely increased the unrest which had subsided in the years immediately before it. Fanatical Hindu agitators, none the less dangerous because

of their undoubted honesty, were demanding that the British 'Raj' should be cast out; and Mohammedans were deeply stirred with resentment at what they regarded as Britain's breach of faith in her treatment of the Turkish 'Khalifate.' In 1922 it was still an open question whether the administrative reforms would fulfil their purpose and develop goodwill and harmony or would tend to increase the friction between Westerns and Orientals.

India, 1922.

In Great Britain a very irrational conviction was curiously prevalent among all classes that with the close of the war an era of unexampled prosperity was to be expected. The shortage of industrial production during the war had raised prices and immensely increased the cost of living; the country had exhausted its reserves of wealth; but it had spent a great part of them in paying very high wages for civilian war services, and at the moment the labouring classes found themselves better off than they had been before. The country was using up its capital instead of living on its income, and consequently there was a very misleading appearance of plenty.

4. Misleading hopes, 1918.

The labourer saw no reason why he should go back to the old conditions, none why wages should not be maintained at the new level which, though better than the old, was not excessive. The employers, it appeared, were not impoverished and could afford it. Labour was highly organised now and could insist upon its reasonable demands. But as a matter of fact the employers generally could not afford it. They could pay the high wages out of income only if there was greatly increased production and a market for the goods; or if without increased production the price of the goods were raised. But production as compared with wages diminished, the price of the goods was raised, the cost of living went up, the labourers consequently demanded more wages, and the rising prices destroyed what market there was abroad for British goods, till every one at last realised that the era which had set in was one not of unexampled prosperity but of very serious depression and extensive unemployment.

Labour claims.

The money to spend on production and wages was not there—and what money there was the Government took in the form of very heavy taxation in order to meet the enormous expenses involved by its borrowings during the war, pension claims, unemployment relief, heavy military charges which still continued in various parts of the world, and the immensely increased cost of running the

The Government.

public services. The reduction of taxation through the reduction of national expenditure, the release thereby of money to be expended on increased production, the diminution of the cost of production making the goods cheaper, the restoration of a world market for British goods —these were the things that must be brought about before prosperity could return. For the world market it was very necessary that both Germany and Russia should recover their prosperity and renew friendly relations. For reducing national expenditure, every one could point to some form of waste which ought to be stopped—only, each could be answered by a crowd of proofs that the particular waste was not waste at all. And so the Government struggled with welfare schemes which meant more expenditure and with budgets which did something but only a fraction of what was required towards reduction. And all the time, when peace, mutual understanding, and mutual goodwill were the things of which every one stood most in need, labour and capital scolded each other for selfishly seeking class interests; and while Britain reproached France for caring more about French frontiers than the revival of trade and the economic restoration of Europe, France reproached Britain for caring more about money-bags than French security.

And then in October 1922 Mustapha Kemal came on the centre of the stage; the Conservatives with few though very distinguished exceptions announced that the Coalition was at an end; a new Conservative ministry was formed under Mr. Bonar Law; Mr. Lloyd George—for four years past the dominant figure in the political world—was once more a private citizen; and in November came the dissolution of Parliament and a General Election, which gave the Conservatives a substantial majority over all other parties together, while the Labour group became the official Opposition.

Climax, Oct. 1922.

SUMMARIES

Chronology: 1914-1922.

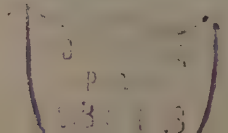
1914. *Aug.* 4. War declared.
,, 23. British retreat begins.
Sept. 7. German retreat begins.
,, 26. German retreat ends.
Oct. First Battle of Ypres.
South African revolt.
Nov. Turkey enters the war.

1914. *Dec.* South African revolt ends.
Battle of Falkland Islands.
1915. *Feb.* Naval attack on Dardanelles.
March. Neuve Chapelle.
April. Landing on Gallipoli.
May. *Lusitania* sunk.
Mr. Asquith's National ministry.
Italy enters the war.
July. German West Africa conquered.
Aug. Suvla Bay landing.
Oct. Bulgaria enters the war.
Salonica occupied.
Nov. Devastation of Serbia.
Dec. Gallipoli evacuated.
1916. *Feb.* 21. Verdun battle begins.
March. British Compulsory Service begins.
April. Irish insurrection.
Surrender of Kut-el-Amara.
May. Austrian Trentino thrust.
,, 31. Battle of Jutland.
Women's Franchise Act.
July. Somme battle begins.
Aug. Rumania enters the war.
Oct. Rumanian break-down.
Dec. Mr. Lloyd George Prime Minister.
1917. *March.* Allies' push begins.
Capture of Baghdad.
Russian Revolution begins.
April. America declares war on Germany.
Vimy ridge taken.
June. Messines ridge taken.
Rationing under Lord Rhondda.
Oct.-Dec. Austrian thrust to the Piave.
Nov. Bolsheviks dominant in Russia.
British thrust at Cambrai.
Dec. Capture of Jerusalem.
1918. *March.* Bolshevik-German treaty of Brest-Litovsk.
,, 21-31. British right driven back.
Foch in supreme command.
April 9-16. British left bent back.

1918. *April* 23. Zeebrugge.
May 27. German thrust on the Aisne.
June 23. Austrian thrust repulsed.
July 15-18. Last German thrust repulsed.
Aug. 8. Allied offensive opened by British.
Sept. 13. Americans at St. Mihiel.
„ 15. Bulgarian rout.
„ 19. Battle of Megiddo.
„ 27. Allied offensive renewed by British.
„ 30. Surrender of Bulgaria.
Oct. 28. Break-down of Austria.
„ 31. Surrender of Turkey.
Nov. 3. Surrender of Austria.
„ 11. Armistice.
Dec. The 'Coalition' General Election.
1919. *Jan.* Peace Conference.
July. Treaty of Versailles.
League of Nations constituted.
Sept.-Oct. Great railway strike.
1920. Montague-Chelmsford Act.
Aug. Treaty of Sèvres.
1921. Irish war intensified.
Great coal strike.
Washington Conference.
Irish negotiations.
1922. *Jan.* Irish treaty, constituting Irish Free State.
Sep. Greek débâcle.
Oct. Conservative ministry displaces Mr. Lloyd George.
Nov. General Election; Conservative majority.

Ministries.

Aug. 1914-*May* 1915. Mr. Asquith's Liberal ministry.
May 1915-*Dec.* 1916. Mr. Asquith's National ministry.
Dec. 1916-*Dec.* 1918. Mr. Lloyd George's National ministry.
Dec. 1918-*Oct.* 1922. Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition ministry.
Oct. 1922. Mr. Bonar Law's Conservative ministry.



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